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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2020



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZSMP DELEGATION VISITS HUNGARY

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by Grzegorz Lubczyk, permanent correspondent of SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Budapest: "Delegation of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) in Hungary: A New Measure of Collaboration"]

[Text] From the course of the visit made by the delegation of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) led by chairman Jerzy Jaskiernia, to Hungary to meet with KISZ leaders, it is clear that the collaboration of ZSMP with KISZ received many new impulses. This has already been confirmed, if only in a document for the exclusive use of our organization sent as far back as mid-September 1981 from one of the KISZ political training centers.

The third day of the delegation's stay was concerned with particularly industrious and productive citizens. During the visit to the Kobanya pharmaceutical establishments, the KISZ members of this leading producer of medication in Hungary informed us about the great response to the appeal made by their plant organization. On their free Saturdays, youth from similar establishments do civic work, and they earmark earned forints for the purchase of medicines, which get to Poland through the aid of the Hungarian Red Cross.

The significance of the visit is indicated by the fact that Mihaly Korom, member of the Politboro and the secretariat of the Central Committee of MSZMP, received the ZSMP representatives. This was a positive Hungarian-Polish exchange of political and economic experiences. The implementation of economic reform, means of making managerial mechanisms more flexible, with particular consideration of the role of youth in these processes--those are the main threads of the conversation held at the headquarters of the Central Committee of MSZMP.

Jerzy Jaskiernia says: "We were in agreement in our evaluation that, just as it was in Hungary after 1956, so it is in Poland--the main burden for resolving the crisis rests precisely with youth. For they are the group the most predestined to be included in the mechanisms which are changing the face of the economy. But at the same time, the initial phase of reform is generating a number of threats to the young people's situation. In connection with this fact, it is so important to have an exchange of and knowledge of valuable Hungarian experiences in the area of residential construction, methods

to reduce inflationary pressures, credit favoring young families, and also activities supporting the youth organization, which are assured in Hungary by a law on youth, a unique kind of key to their problems.

Tadeusz Pietrzak, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic (PRL) to Hungary, participated in the conversation with Mihaly Korom.

The meeting of the delegation of the Main Board of ZSMP with the Office of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (SFMD) had essential significance. Specific and quite difficult questions were raised.

I again asked Jerzy Jaskiernia his comments: "The more frequent this type of contact is, the greater the opportunity to explain complex Polish phenomena, to disseminate authentic information, and also to polemize what in effect contributes to the neutralization of the anti-Polish campaign unleashed by some Western countries. This is significant because of the upcoming SFMD meeting schedules for June in Prague, where our organization will be presented for the first time and where it will be necessary to consider the interest shown in Polish issues.

For we are endeavoring to strengthen the position of ZSMP in the international youth movement forum, something which can be achieved only by broadening contacts with youth in the Socialist countries as well as with progressive organizations in the capitalist states. These obviously are not new goals; nonetheless, since 13 December 1981 they have been requiring more activity from us than they did previously.

The ZSMP delegation also has advised the active workers of the SFMD leadership about the development of the situation in the Polish youth movement, and about the actions of the commission on joint international contacts of Polish youth and student unions. This is connected with the definition of a formula, a representation of the Polish youth movement at the federation forum. The possibility was brought up of organizing a European debating forum in Poland on the subject of raising youth in the spirit of peace.

In general, it should be said that this was a very successful visit, and that no empty words were uttered. At the conclusion of the official talks, which were presided over for KISZ by Gyorgy Fejti, first secretary of the Central Committee of KISZ, a communique was issued.

Among other things, it states: "Young Hungarians have, with understanding, accepted the decisions of the State Council of the PRL on convening the Military Council for National Salvation and to follow its successive orders with great attention.

The representatives of both youth organizations are resolutely condemning the meddling of imperialist circles in the internal affairs of Poland and the application of political and economic sanctions against Poland."

In turn, we read in the protocol on bilateral collaboration for 1982 that, among other things, regular and frank exchanges of experiences and views between ZSMP and KISZ are indispensable and necessary. G. Fejti has been asked to pay a visit to Poland.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MINARIK RESURFACES IN INTERVIEW, ATTACKS EXILE

Ostrava NOVA SVOBODA in Czech 17 Apr 82 p 4

[Interview with Major RSDr Pavel Minarik, CSc, staff worker of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, by Jaromir Balla from NOVA SVOBODA and Bogdan Matwikkow from Glos Ludu]

[Text] We still remember the year 1976 when our media informed us about the return of a staff worker of our Federal Ministry of the Interior, Pavel Minarik, then a captain, from the Federal Republic of Germany where he had worked for the previous 8 years at the infamous Radio Free Europe. During that time he succeeded in penetrating the secrets of that organization which was managed by the United States Central Intelligence Agency. Minarik got hold of unique documents concerning the activities which this subversive institution directs against the socialist countries and especially against Czechoslovakia.

[Question] Not long ago we had an opportunity to welcome Major Pavel Minarik in Ostrava. We were surprised to find him alive...

[Answer] I am very familiar with the rumors and myths concerning my death, he answered with a smile. I can even offer several versions of these rumors. According to one, I had a traffic accident. According to a second version, I was pushed under a threshing machine in your kraj. According to a third version, I was kidnapped in South Moravia, taken to an Austrian border, and shot. According to still another version, I was shot and killed in the DDR by a certain West German citizen. And I do not know what else is supposed to have happened to me. I take all this with good humor. The old proverb says after all that he who is prematurely buried will survive for many years. But now seriously: I am surprised at time at how our people are willing to believe these rumors, cheap sensationalism, or panic-mongering. Usually this indicates that underlying all these rumors are forces which would like to create unrest in our country and which would like to deprive us of the necessary calm for our peaceful and creative work.

[Question] You know these forces very well. After all, you lived and worked among those people for 8 years. How would you characterize the present activities of Radio Free Europe and similar institutions?

[Answer] Radio Free Europe originated after the founding of the Committee for Free Europe in 1949. The first broadcast to Czechoslovakia took place in June 1950. At its inception, Radio Free Europe was charged with three tasks: Espionage, subversive propaganda, and terroristic activities. Sometimes the emphasis is on one task, sometimes on another. Basically, however, Radio Free Europe has been carrying out these three types of activities to this day. The importance that the ruling circles of the United States have given to the activities of Radio Free Europe and similar centers is shown by the fact that its initial budget of \$50,000 has been increased year after year. In the course of its existence, this "nonprofit" organization cost the American taxpayers more than \$0.5 billion. In 1974, U.S. President Richard Nixon asked Milton Eisenhower, son [sic] of a former American president, to prepare a new plan for Radio Free Europe and its subversive broadcast activities with the aim of "providing Czech listeners with a flood of information they lack." In practice, it meant the expansion of disinformation activities. The end result of this new concept was a merger of two ideological subversive centers--Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty--into a single organization in 1976. To illustrate the extent of its activities it is enough to mention that at its peak this center employed 1,500 people. At present the number of its employees is approximately 1,200.

[Question] At the time you worked at Radio Free Europe, there were two other intelligence officers at the station: Andrzej Czechowicz from Poland and Christo Christov from Bulgaria. Did you know of them and were the activities of all three of you coordinated?

[Answer] Naturally, I knew nothing of their activities. Andrzej Czechowicz returned to Poland in 1971. To state it plainly, his return to Poland was a slap in the face to those Western circles which were under the illusion that their work against the socialist countries had no limits. This occurred at a time when the authorities in the West tried to "clean" the CIA in the eyes of the public and tried to pretend that the CIA had nothing further to do with Radio Free Europe. It was at this time that Czechowicz told his story. Washington immediately activated the hot line to Bonn and prohibited the West German media from reporting on Czechowicz' return. The revelation that Radio Free Europe had been an agency of the CIA was unpleasant to them. At the same time Senator Fulbright characterized Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty as cold war relics. It was interesting that between 1974 and 1976 the Poles employed at Radio Free Europe were disappearing as if they were on an assembly line. I myself remember three or four such cases. The situation was so bad that at one meeting the American director of Radio Free Europe asked the director of the Polish section, Nowak: "Are you still here?"

The Bulgarian intelligence officer Christov worked at the Vienna branch of Radio Free Europe. Thus, I did not know him. I remember Czechowicz from my "stay" at Radio Free Europe.

[Question] Was your work affected after the departure of Czechowicz? Was not security at Radio Free Europe tightened?

[Answer] Yes, it was. To state it more specifically, security was always stressed but was not strictly implemented. After Czechowicz departure, Radio

Free Europe literally witnessed a witchhunt on spies. Everybody was suspicious of everybody else. To tell the truth, such atmosphere has prevailed to this day. Each employee would look at the other as if he were a Soviet agent. And if not a Soviet agent then an agent of another country. After my return home in 1977, the infamous Pavel Tigrid in Paris stated. "Minarik? We knew from the very beginning that he was a spy." It was interesting that 2 years earlier he told me: "Say, should we not be more careful about Volny? I think that he is a plant..."

[Question] Were you ever afraid during your stay in Radio Free Europe?

[Answer] Perhaps I would not call it fear but apprehension--apprehension that I would be discovered before being able to complete my assignment. However, I also experienced fear. It happened shortly after the departure of Czechowicz at the time of the tightened security. I succeeded in getting from a female secretary of a director whose name I will not mention a key from a safe in an office I do not wish to identify. One night I went to that office... The situation was propitious. I entered through the door and opened the safe. The safe was located in the room behind the door. I searched among the documents when I heard fast footsteps in the hall. The door was opened and a watchman looked into the room. I have to admit that I was scared stiff. I was pressed so hard against the wall that I seemed not to breath. The watchman just peered into the room and closed the door. The lump which fell from my throat must have been heard in the basement.

[Question] You worked as a broadcaster and editor. Thus you were in a position to be familiar with the practices at Radio Free Europe. What is the origin of the materials published by Radio Free Europe?

[Answer] Radio Free Europe monitors the broadcasts of Czechoslovak radio stations. Each day up to 200 pages of monitored broadcasts are published. In addition, some 120 periodicals published in Czechoslovakia, including NOVA SVOBODA, are scanned. Great attention is paid especially to kraj newspapers and plant periodicals because in these cases it is possible to separate specific items from the context. Such a specific item is then related to a generally known fact and an added drop of poison subverts the whole thing into disinformation. I will illustrate this in a concrete case: Not long ago, it was decided in the Soviet Union to create associated agricultural facilities at certain industrial plants. The significance of these facilities lies in the fact that the workers can order goods from these facilities during the day, the purchases are scheduled for delivery at the employee's workplace during the shift, and the workers can take their purchases home when they leave. Thus, they do not have to waste time shopping after their working hours. Radio Free Europe commented on the whole thing in the following way: In order to prevent workers' demonstrations it was decided that the workers could purchase meat and other agricultural produce directly at the Arsenal plant in Kiev. This is an illustration of how Radio Free Europax fabricates disinformation. The raison d'être of the so-called journalists at this center is to author such slanders.

[Question] Given these circumstances, what is the opinion of other West German journalists and the public about the editors of Radio Free Europe?

[Answer] They look at them with disrespect. West German journalists ignore their "colleagues" from Radio Free Europe. They do not consider them journalists. However, they envy them a little because an editor of Radio Free Europe is much better paid than, say, an editor at the Bavarian radio network. What is the opinion of other West German citizens? Older Munichers remember the time when in war-destroyed Munich some kind of a center employing foreigners was established whose only interest was to frequent night clubs and squander money which, in comparison with Germans, they had in abundance. This was a period when nobody at Radio Free Europe thought about the future because the prevailing mood then was an expectation of war which would make it possible for them to stage a glorious return to their homes. At that time Radio Free Europe employed our enemies who worked against us because of principle--people like Firt or Peroutka. They were a type of enemies described by Edmundovich Dzerzhinski as deserving our respect. However, the emigres who came to Radio Free Europe after 1968 have had only one motive--money. Thus, for example, Ota Filip discovered that there was German blood in his veins on account of some of his ancestors and he became a German, a German citizen. But at the same time he likes to represent himself as a Czech writer. Pachman and Jezdinsky joined the Sudeten Germans. Such a situation dictates an attitude toward these people on the part of the new German generation. They look on Radio Free Europe as something which must not be touched even with a 10-foot pole. And they prefer to have nothing to do with it. This is a general view in the West. For example, at the Winter Olympics in Innsbruck in 1976, the so-called editors of Radio Free Europe were expelled. This, I believe, characterizes the situation quite well.

[Question] During your stay in the West you lived among our emigres. You got a good fix on the situation of these emigres. Are the wishes of those who leave for the West fulfilled?

[Answer] I will say the following: Their material aspirations are fulfilled in the case of those who were able to become experts back home at the expense of our socialist state. This does not of course mean that every individual with an academic title from Czechoslovakia is received as an expert and with open arms. However, even for these people it means a separation forever from their native language, their own country and its culture. From my experience, I can testify that all this is not at all easy as is sometimes indicated by the wishful thinking of certain people. I experienced all that myself even though I was certain that I could return home. Another chapter involves the people who stay abroad because of adventurism or in the hope of easy money. One can only smile at such naive expectations. However, this category usually includes people from whom not even our republic benefited. They are the ones used to send postcards to Czechoslovakia from Majorca. This, of course, is one of the least expensive vacations offered by West German travel offices to people with limited funds. Do not make a mistake and be overwhelmed by the fact that Majorca is part of Spain. Not everything which glitters is gold. For example, for a retired person a vacation in Majorca is less expensive than a stay of the same duration in West Germany.

[Question] Could you illustrate this with a concrete example?

[Answer] Not long ago, one of those who went astray returned to Czechoslovakia. He was a third-year student at the Philological Faculty who had left with his friend for Vienna. Once there, his friend persuaded him to stay. To his great surprise, they did not find paradise. They were sent to a refugee camp in Treiskirchen. Today, every emigre in Austria is sent to this camp for a kind of quarantine which lasts, depending on individual circumstance, from 3 to 6 weeks. After their arrival at the camp all their documents were collected from them. New emigres even get financial aid. It is better than nothing but you cannot live on it. I will simplify this account in the following way: If you were stricken in Vienna with a certain disease, then this aid would not even suffice to pay for the daily use of public toilets there. For this reason the refugees try to find work in the vicinity of the camp. And because of the abundance of refugees local farmers hire them for a pittance as seasonal workers. This fact led our student to sober up. He wrote a letter to his parents asking them to help him return home. He also asked the camp authorities to have his documents returned and gave them as a reason his intention to return home. From that moment on he started to experience a life in hell. He was exposed to the most brutal pressures to remain in exile. He was even threatened. He was told that in case of his return he would be arrested by the Czechoslovak authorities. The boy, however, did not back down. Moreover, when his father arrived he persuaded his son that it was possible for him to go home. Well, the boy is back in Czechoslovakia and continues his university studies. He has learned a lesson. Nobody will ever be able to create any illusions about the West as far as he is concerned.

[Question] Our people have the most varied ideas about the work of intelligence officers. These ideas are, of course, based on spy movies. To what extent does the reality parallel these ideas?

[Answer] To be an intelligence officer means to work as anybody does. The intelligence officer too goes to bed at night and gets up in the morning to go to work. His work is demanding as far as time, nerves, and family understanding are concerned. To tell the truth, when I started to work in this line I too had some idealistic notions as has every average person. By accident I came into contact with people who must remain anonymous but who were and have remained for me examples of communist individuals, men devoted to our cause. I went abroad at the age of 23 and returned when I was 31. During that period I could not do anything for myself. School, education--all that had to wait. Not to speak about family. Before my departure abroad I had only one wish: To be able to return still as a young man in order to be able to live and work in my own country. My wish was met by my superiors. During my stay in the West I witnessed much desperation and hopelessness among our emigres. For those who have engaged in hostile activities against our country no return is possible. Thus the only goal for them is to work to get maximum pay, to hang on to their jobs and to be able to retire. This is the only purpose of life of all those "reformers of socialism" who work for or collaborate with Radio Free Europe today. After all, they have chosen this path voluntarily. Nobody forced them to do so. And history shows that these traitors are exploited by our enemies who also have contempt for them. As an illustration

I should mention the name of former General Sejna. When they needed him they used him. Then they left him to his fate. And he slowly but surely started to lose his mind. He often changes his domicile, suffers from a delusion that he is targeted for assassination. He has become a schizophrenic who has lost his sense of time completely. When it suits them, the Americans call him back and use him as a puppet. In this way he was shown on Austrian television to frighten the Austrian bourgeois by the "Soviet threat." For his fear tactics he used the alleged plans of our general staff and the Warsaw Pact according to which the Soviet and our armies were preparing the "occupation" of Austria. As a second-rate comedian he delivered his prepared script and then was put on ice again.

[Concluding note of the interviewers] There are many more questions on our mind but Major Minarik's schedule is very tight. To those of you who liked his engaging story we can say by way of conclusion that he is writing a book which will make interesting reading. That is guaranteed by the author's name.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**INTERNATIONAL YOUTH COOPERATION STRESSED**

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 12 May 82 p 3

[Exerpts from the report of the Socialist Youth Union [SYU] presidium, present by Jan Brunner]

[Text] In its introduction, the report stresses that we are approaching the congress as an organization which, side by side with progressive youth of the world, has since its inception actively participated in the struggle for peace, security and cooperation among nations, social progress, and the rights of the young generation all over the world. Like in other areas of our activity, we have achieved many positive results since the 2nd SYU Congress in the development of foreign relations and foreign operations.

**Party Policy Is the Foundation**

This is essentially so because we have consistently based our activity, and continue to do so, on the foreign policy of the party, its 15th and 16th Congresses, as well as the 25th and 26th Congresses of the Soviet communists and their peace initiatives. This is so because in our work we have the full support of the CPCZ, because we draw on the experiences of our friends in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, we cooperate with them closely, and in the international arena we proceed in a coordinated fashion with them.

**Hand in Hand with the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Union [ALCYU]**

The focal point, as well as inspiration for the development of our international activity since the 2nd SYU Congress, has been further development of contacts and fraternal cooperation with the 40 million-member ALCYU.

The level of mutual SYU-ALCYU relations is presently higher than ever before. Besides the tested traditional forms, new highly effective forms are coming to the fore in our cooperation, such as working consultations, exchange of lecturers, patronage over timely fulfillment of cooperation and specialization deliveries, pilgrimages to the historical sites of revolutionary, wartime, and workers class glory, etc.

The greatest and most important joint undertaking since our last congress, was the Friendship Festival of Czechoslovak and Soviet Youth, held in 1979 in all CSSR krajs, with the participation of almost 1,000 Komsomol members.

The focal point in SYU-ALCYU cooperation lies in fraternity contacts at the level of regional, district, and basic organizations. These bring about the greatest involvement of young people in concrete cooperation, and have the greatest political impact on broad strata of the youth.

#### More Effective Fraternity Contacts

In March 1982, the CPCZ Presidium approved the SYU plan for fraternity contacts for 1982-83. In this connection, we should return to the questions of effectiveness of these contacts, rapid elimination of shortcomings, and highly effective cooperation of SYU and ALCYU regional, district, and basic organizations.

In the implementation of SYU-ALCYU cooperation during 1981-85, we must in ever greater measure apply the uniform, jointly-prepared forms of work in ideological education, bring deeper ideological content into the international student and exchange brigades, rest camps, and organized student tourism.

Increasingly more important is and will continue to be the share of young people in the intensification of the process of socialist economic integration. The SYU must participate in this process through exchanges of young workers and technicians within the movement "From Machine to Machine." All these are forms of not only effective youth participation in future socialist construction but also in education aimed toward a dedicated relationship to work.

On 18 May, the doors of the 19th ALCYU Congress will open. Its deliberations will surely bring much that is new, instructive, and inspirational for our work also.

In developing cooperation with our friends from the GDR, Bulgaria, Cuba, Hungary, Mongolia, Romania, and Poland, we follow the example of the communist and workers parties in these countries. Our principal aim and task which we have set for ourselves in mutual contacts, are anchored in long-term cooperation programs which we evaluate and adjust regularly.

A characteristic trait of our contacts is their substance, working atmosphere, and sincere desire to help each other in our work, as well as in our effort on the international scene. The focal point of our cooperation rests in exchange of experiences and findings in the ideological education activity in youth participation in scientific and technological development, in our active part in specialization and cooperation within the framework of socialist economic integration.

A lasting place in our relations is held by the festivals, and friendship days and months. In addition to the already mentioned Friendship Festival of Czechoslovak and Soviet Youth, we have since the 2nd SYU Congress

successfully organized friendship days of Czechoslovak and Romanian, GDR, Polish, Bulgarian, and Cuban youth, as well as the 2nd Assembly of Students from Socialist Countries in Prague. Since our congress, there has been broad development of international cooperation of our organizations in scientific and technological creativity and youth labor activity. We must, however, still improve our support of these forms of cooperation by means of targeted excursions and fraternity trains organized for our innovators and improvers, leaders of youth collectives, and the whole brigade of socialist labor.

Also important is the cooperation among the publishing houses and editorial offices of youth magazines and newspapers in the form of regular exchanges of editors and materials. Also growing is the number of book titles published, such as "People in the Media," or "Nine Cosmic Days," published by Mlada fronta and Mlada garda. In addition, there is broad cooperation among our fraternal organizations in the area of culture, special interests, theater, film, and artistic creativity.

#### Assistance to Polish Comrades

With respect to the Polish youth movement where, under the influence of the antisocialist forces, there arose a complicated situation resulting in the dissolution of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth, we have contact with the Socialist Union of Polish Youth, Socialist Union of Polish Students, Union of Rural Youth, and the Union of Polish Scouts. We will continue to develop contacts with these organizations in the coming period. We will especially concentrate on cooperation with the Socialist Union of Polish Youth, in support of the healthy forces in the Polish youth, student, and children's movements in overcoming the social crisis and its consequences.

#### Beyond the Shores of Continents

Special attention has been focused on cooperation with youth organizations in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, especially on all-around aid in creating conditions for further development of these organizations. In the past period, we have also intensified our cooperation and solidarity with the Peoples Democratic Republic of Korea. We are also broadening contacts with the youth of Yugoslavia.

Friendship and cooperation knows no geographic boundaries. We have friends and allies on all continents. We are united in the common struggle against imperialism, struggle for peace and social progress on our planet.

The past 5 years has been a period in which the principal positive factor of world development was the strengthening of socialism and the attractiveness of its example.

In an effort to turn back the clock on these inevitable revolutionary changes, and reverse the process of easing tensions, the most revolutionary imperialist circles, headed by the United States administration, have reverted to an international sharpening of the situation. They have unleashed a campaign against the easing of international tensions. They are striving for a

militarization of international relations and for a reversal of the historically-established balance of forces in the world to their advantage.

#### Preparation for the Assembly of the World Federation of Democratic Youth [WFDY]

Support for the 16th CPCZ Congress line of the foreign policy of our republic, consistently oriented to foster coexistence among states of different social systems, for the strengthening of cooperation and security on the international scale, for the preservation of lasting and just peace, and for disarmament, all this must be the concern of every honest citizen of our homeland. This also fully applies to the work of our union. With this conviction we approach the preparation for our 3rd Congress, as well as one of the most significant events in the life of progressive youth and student movements since the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students in Havana in 1978, the 11th assembly of the member states of the WFDY. At the invitation of our union, its deliberations will take place in Prague during 3-9 June.

Preparations for the WFDY Assembly are taking place in a complicated international situation. The aggressive imperialist circles of the United States and their allies in NATO, continue their policy of exacerbating tensions in the world, and accelerating the lethally perilous race in the production of nuclear and conventional arms. Only imperialism is to blame for a complicated and tense situation in many areas of the world.

Especially dangerous not only for the European continent but for the whole world is the NATO decision on the deployment in the West European member countries of new American intermediate missiles. This decision is highly dangerous step in the overall strategy of imperialism, aimed at a destabilization of the political and military situation. New American nuclear weapons in Europe threaten not only the very existence of our continent, but expose all mankind to the threat of thermonuclear disaster. Consequently, it is of vital importance not to permit the implementation of this decision.

The United States makes it its policy not only to encircle strategically and militarily the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, but also to create for itself conditions in various parts of the world to suppress by force of arms the national liberation struggle. Imperialism thus pursues a single goal, namely to retard and eventually halt social progress on our planet.

We fully support L.I. Brezhnev's sentiments expressed at the supreme assembly of Soviet communists, when he said: "Our party, our people, and all nations of this planet have no other more pressing international task than to preserve peace."

#### Million Sign for Peace

It is for this reason that our union, in the interest of peace and progress in the world, cooperates with youth and student organizations of the whole world, regardless of their ideological, political, or religious affiliation. Never before has the world peace movement been as strong, never before has it had countless millions of adherents. And the majority are young people. One

signature could perhaps be ignored, but many millions of signatures of young Komsomol members, along with signatures of our young people on picture post-cards showing their towns and villages from all over Czechoslovakia, addressed to the NATO headquarters in Brussels, are joining in a mighty stream of signatures under the Krefeld Appeal, with signatures under other appeals, to halt production of the neutron weapons, a mighty stream from Holland, Denmark, and other European countries, but signatures also from the United States. Therefore, let us all, regardless of the differences in world outlook, proclaim today our supreme goal--peace for the world.

The SYU has in the past period actively participated in the preparation and attendance of conferences and seminars, the culmination of which was the World Forum of Youth and Students for the Reduction of Tensions, held in Helsinki in January 1981.

The all-European structure of youth and student cooperation established in Budapest in the fall of 1980, has become a platform for a joint approach of broad strata of youth, in an effort to strengthen peace and security, advance mutually beneficial cooperation, and help fulfill the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

The SYU presidium report further noted that we march in solidarity with progressive young people in the capitalist countries in their current struggle under difficult conditions of rising unemployment, for their rights and social changes in their countries. We remain in close contact with our class brothers and allies, young communists, revolutionaries, democrats, and their organizations.

#### Class View of Cooperation

Broad cooperation, based on internationalist principles, is developing especially with fraternal youth organizations in the FRG, Denmark, Finland, Austria, Greece, Cyprus, Luxemburg, United States, Canada, and Australia. Our contacts with French communists and their youth movement are improving. On the other hand, however, we reject the unprincipled and dubious activity of those youth associations which brazenly flaunt their "different stands." This type of activity has increased considerably since the declaration of a state of emergency in Poland which deterred the open attempts of the counterrevolution to liquidate socialism in that country.

The leadership of the Communist Party of Italy [PCI] has just recently unveiled a theoretical justification of the concept of the so-called third road. In conflict with historical truth and the interests of peace and socialism, it attempted to deny the great progressive role of the victorious struggle of nations and the fraternal parties for a new social system, to deny the international significance of their experiences in building this new system.

Youth organizations operating under the PCI leadership, as well as certain other communist parties, have tried--and this tendency has already manifested itself clearly--to carry the new theoretical position even into the sphere of WFDY activity. We will, of course, resolutely reject any such attempts.

We should remind these forces that the terms "peace," "solidarity," "democracy," and "human rights," have a class character for communists and they must be fought for from class positions.

#### Broadest Possible Platform

We will continue our cooperation not only with member organizations of the European Committee on National Youth Councils, and the International Union of Socialist Youth, but also with many other regional and international organizations and their member unions. We have found beneficial, for example, such forms of cooperation as bilateral theme-oriented seminars on problems of interest to young people at this time, organized together with the young socialists in the Socialist Party of Germany [SPD], the Federal Youth Circle also in the FRG, the Netherlands Platform for International Youth Activity, the Liberal University Union in the FRG, the National Youth Council in Denmark, and others. Such contacts resulted in, for instance, a meeting of young physicians and agricultural workers from the CSSR and Holland. The position and authority of the SYU in these contacts are the result of activist approaches and uncompromising stands to which we hold. We will also continue to strengthen the SYU position, while effective propagation of socialism and the living conditions for young people in the socialist countries, will be in the forefront of our endeavor.

A characteristic trait of our cooperation with the youth of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, is intensification and improvement of mutual contacts, especially with organizations in countries with a socialist orientation. We continue to enhance relations with youth organizations in Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen, and Afghanistan. Further development was achieved in mutual relations with the "19 July Youth Movement" in Nicaragua. We are in full solidarity with the struggle of progressive revolutionary forces in Central America.

#### The Role of the SYU Solidarity Fund

Our cooperation with youth and student organizations of all continents makes it possible for us to develop the SYU Solidarity Fund through which we strive to help wherever assistance is needed. In this effort, we work very closely with the central committee of the National Front.

A new form through which we intend to continue to procure financial means for the Solidarity Fund, is direct participation of selected all-plant SYU organizations in raising funds for fraternal youth organizations in the developing countries. As an example, we can cite--and many of you probably read about it on the pages of Mlada fronta, the contribution of the all-plant SYU organization in the United Steel Works in Kladno, in support of the Revolutionary Youth Union of Ethiopia. We are convinced that our organizations will follow this example. Consistent contributions to the SYU Solidarity Fund should be understood as a concrete expression of internationalist convictions of our young generation. We must say frankly that many of our organizations still do not understand this.

## New Working Methods and Opportunities

Another important component of our international activity are the international peace camps which not only serve as an instrument of friendship among children of the whole world, but also as a means to propagate our Pioneer Organization and popularize the successes of the socialist countries, as well as a means of implementing the Charter of Childrens Rights.

We envisage opportunities in further broadening of our cooperation in the international context with National Front organizations, such as the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, and the Czechoslovak Union of Women. We also plan to be more active in reaching young people around the world through the Czechoslovak Society for Foreign Relations, as well as societies for friendship with Czechoslovakia in foreign countries of all continents.

## Full Support for the International Union of Students [IUS]

The IUS and its member organizations are carrying out the tasks set for them by the 13th IUS Congress, held in Berlin in 1980. There has been further strengthening of IUS unity and cooperation with regional student organizations in Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean region, and the Arab countries.

Attempts to weaken the unity and action capability of the IUS by imperialists and their lackeys in trying to set up a so-called International Student Association, have been exposed as an act directed against the interests of the broad student masses. This attempt was correctly identified as an affair with only one goal, namely to disrupt the unity of the international student movement, cast doubt on the 35-year experience of the IUS, mislead the movement away from an activist program, away from student participation in joint action with the popular masses in the struggle for peace and cooperation, security of nations, and social progress, in short, away from anti-imperialist solidarity.

## Prague Opens Its Gates to the WFDY

The deliberations of the supreme organ of the largest and most representative organization of world progressive youth, the WFDY, will take place in Prague in less than a month. The event will be attended by about 800 delegates of member organizations from 130 countries of the world, about 200 representatives of other youth and student organizations of the most diverse ideological and world outlook persuasion, and representatives of the UN and UNESCO. Given the current international situation, it is logical that primary attention of the assembly will be focused on the preservation of world peace, and the role of the young generation in the struggle for this only acceptable alternative for the present and future of our planet. Among the other contemporary problems which will be on the agenda are youth rights, its contribution to the struggle for social progress, and specific problems of individual continents and regions of the world. Part of the deliberations of the 11th WFDY Assembly will be reserved for the supreme organs of affiliated specialized organizations of the federation, such as the International Volunteer Service of Youth

Solidarity and Friendship, the International Bureau of Youth and Student Tourism, and the International Committee for Children and Adolescents.

Our youth movement which is an activist founding member of the WFDY, welcomes the opportunity to host for the second time in our homeland the deliberations of the Federation's supreme organ. We will strive to create the best possible conditions for these deliberations. Our union's delegation to the assembly will act diligently and with initiative, in harmony with today's central committee decision, to ensure that the 11th WFDY assembly become another step forward in strengthening the unity of progressive youth the world over, and its mobilization against all the forces of imperialism and reaction, for peace and progress on our planet.

#### Important New Initiatives

We are convinced that the 11th WFDY Assembly will set forth the principal tasks of the world progressive youth for the 1980s. Consequently, we anticipate that the peace rally at Lidice which will be held during the festive days, will proclaim a new global campaign of the youth struggle for peace and disarmament. We also hope that the Prague tribunal "Youth Accuses Imperialism" not only brings forth new evidence of imperialism's inhumanity, but also its resolute condemnation.

These goals will be supported by all our young people who will be welcoming the participants of the assembly in their plants, schools, and homes. When they acquaint the visitors with their life in a developed socialist society, their work in the spirit of Gottwald's slogan "build your homeland, you will be strengthening peace," when they express their solidarity with all the boys and girls who care for the cause of peace and social progress, who are struggling against imperialism for a happy tomorrow on our planet.

Let us therefore do everything we can, comrades, to see to it that, in the early days of June, Prague, the capital of our socialist republic, resound with a voice powerful enough to be heard on all continents, a strong resolute voice for peace and progress on our one planet.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

**USSR OFFICIAL'S ACTIVITIES--**I. Cherkasov, councilor of the USSR Embassy in the CSSR, on 5 April in Prague visited the secretariat of the PACEM in Terra Association of the Catholic clergy, where he was received by Canonicus Z. Adler, doctor of theology, and J. Hendrich, chapter vicar. The representatives of the patriotic Catholic clergy expressed support for the noble humane aims of the USSR's foreign policy and its further initiatives against a nuclear catastrophe. I. Cherkasov expressed appreciation of these stands and wished the priests rallied in the association successes in peaceful work. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Apr 82 p 2 AU]

**SVAZARM MEMBERSHIP INCREASING--**The membership base of the SVAZARM [Union for Cooperation with the Army] organization increases on the average by 25,000 new members every year. Almost 86,000 boys and girls under 15 in the Czech lands constitute 14.5 percent of the SVAZARM's membership base. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 May 82 p 2 AU]

**NATIONAL SECURITY CORPS--**According to Col Dr P. Vano, Slovak deputy minister of interior, almost 75 percent of the members of the CSSR's National Security Corps are CPCZ members and candidate members; 60 percent of them are less than 30 years old; more than 70 percent have a secondary-school education. [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 14 Apr 82 p 7 AU]

**CRIME FIGURES DROPPING--**According to Lt Col Dr Pavol Vano, Slovak deputy minister of interior, the number of crimes and felonies in the Sixth Five-Year Plan dropped more than 9 percent; this trend continued in 1981. Juvenile and child delinquency toward the end of 1981 amounted to 15.8 percent of total crime figures. Drug addiction among youth is steadily, even if moderately, increasing. [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 17 Apr 82 p 5 AU]

**OBZINA GIVES PRESS CONFERENCE--**At a press conference held in honor of the upcoming day of the National Security Corps [SNB] in Prague on 7 April, CSSR Interior Minister J. Obzina said, among other things, that "Compared with the preceding decade, we have succeeded in reducing the crime rate by 12 percent," and that despite the increased population "no mass violation of public order had occurred." The SNB has been "successfully ensuring the security of the state borders" despite the 50 million travelers that passed through the border checkpoints. This is a result of the fact that the security apparatus has been built up on "consistently class principles" employing persons with the right qualifications. The present-day SNB consists almost 75 percent of "originally

skilled workers," 12 percent have university-level education and 68 percent graduated from secondary schools. Obzina also spoke about the current tasks, which in the state security sphere consist of intensifying the struggle against foreign intelligence services and against "the so-called eastern departments of the supranational monopolies, which are becoming centers of industrial espionage, of discriminatory measures in the economic sphere and which even dictate to capitalist manufacturers the conditions of cooperation with the socialist countries." The SNB efforts also are concentrating on "safeguarding the economy," in which criminal activities last year led to losses estimated at more than Kcs 2.848 million, Obzina said. [Prague PRACE in Czech 6 Apr 82 p 3 AU]

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**YOUTH LEADERS DISCUSS 'FRONTS OF YOUTH ACTIVITY'**

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish 14 Mar 82 pp 3, 14, 15

[Panel discussion at the editorial offices of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, participation by leaders of various youth groups and newspaper staff, entitled "We are Seeking Fronts of Youth Activity"]

[Text] Taking part in the discussion on the most urgent matters of youth were: the chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), Jerzy Jaskiernia; the commander-in-chief of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP), Andrzej Ornat; the chairman of the Youth Council of the Polish Army, vice-chairman of ZSMP, Major Tadeusz Rzepecki; the secretary of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union (ZMW), Kazimierz Janik; and from the editorial staff Colonels Jan Ignaczak and Antoni Kazana.

Jan Ignaczak: - I welcome you warmly and thank you for finding a little time to discuss with us the role and place of youth in the continuing revival of Poland, the obligations of leaders of the government and society with regard to youth, the obligations of youth in leading the country out of this severe crisis, and in further political and social development. There is something symbolic in the fact that this discussion is taking place in the editorial office of a weekly newspaper intended for youth, which explores in its columns the grave problems of a patriotic education, disseminates the most beautiful traditions of the Polish arms, popularizes service in the Polish army, which, difficult and responsible, is also indispensable for the safety of the nation. I am convinced that in the process of our lively discussion, we will point out the possibilities of developing the activity of youth in work for the Fatherland.

Antoni Kazana: - It is universally said that the crisis has touched our entire society. The tragedy of youth is part of this. The problem thus arises of what form programs of youth activity should assume in this difficult situation, and what further to do.

**On Being an Advocate of the Interests of Youth**

Jerzy Jaskiernia: - We agree with the thesis, which does not require discussion, that whatever parameters we take into consideration, the conditions of this crisis situation hit those especially who are on the threshold of their economic life, who have not yet accumulated the basic material goods which make up a particular standard of living.

What can we as a union do? First of all, let's try to instill a trend toward positive action. I am thinking for example about the area of apartment construction. The formula used to date by those in charge of construction, based on working of 1/3, later 1/2 of the investment, today is losing its viability. At the beginning of the 1970's, when there was a shortage of workers, it made sense. Today, the situation is different. Therefore, one of the things we support is the establishment of young people's work cooperatives, several of which have already been started.

Of course, we are against throwing all the responsibility for progress in construction on the shoulders of youth. We want, however, to be a mobilizing factor; our goal is to reach a point where construction workers build apartments, businessmen conduct business, and the youth movement concentrates on its ideological and educational functions.

Antoni Kazana: - We decisively reject everything that brought about the present situation of youth. I think that the echelons of the Union Of Socialist Polish Youth will need greater "driving force" in making its demands. What guarantees can be made in this area?

Jerzy Jaskiernia: - I would say it like this: in the past there was a strong tendency towards manipulation of the youth movement. Propaganda of success was mandatory, as is known, and the youth movement as well was to some degree prevailed upon to perform activities which would confirm the state of affairs desired. A second element--there was not a worked out method of advocacy for the affairs of youth. If at the Third Special Congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the young people proposed a concept to the Committee of the Council of Ministers for Affairs of Youth, then regardless of who will discuss this concept and what will be said, let's see in it the possibility of cooperative activity. The entire period since the Third Special Congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth has been involved with the search for ways of showing problems to the decision-maker.

Andrzej Ornat: - We are entering the 1980's with a great shortage of material goods and with an enormous amount of experience, unfortunately negative, for youth. In the minds of the young generation, the events of the end of the 1970's were very unfavorable. This has been a difficult experience for the young, and the question must be raised as to the way the youth movement can help in recovering these young people, win them over to the ranks, or at least to influence them. I think that we will be able to convince youth to choose the proper socialist path of reform in Poland based on the most important task of serving the Fatherland, and serving man. The issue is the ideological commitment to work for the Fatherland and also for the community in which we live, the home, street, neighborhood, city--convincing people that what we do well and do together with a mature society contributes to the good of the Fatherland. This is what we want to teach. Only on this foundation of ideological commitment can we assume also the role of advocate of the matters of children and youth relative to our leaders and decision-makers.

The organization which I represent, in dealing with matters of leisure, health, cultural needs, and physical education among children and youth, wants to

combine a broad development along with normal growth. We are seeking fronts of youth activity; we are prompting them on how they should react to the needs of society. And we have results, for example those of our scout alert program. This spontaneous action of every troop, of every boy helping another is a type of commitment, and on this base the organization wants to build the young generation. The state, the party, and the authorities will create conditions for giving people equal opportunities in life. At the same time, it will be necessary to show that together with youth, much can be done. This is very important.

#### The Importance of Ideological and Educational Activity

Tadeusz Rzepecki: - If I may go back to the 1970's, I have the impression that one of the more significant shortcomings of the period was the weakness of ideological and educational work.

There were slogans and programs from above but the ideological and educational work was superficial. Today, we are feeling the consequences of this situation. I realize that conducting ideological and educational work, teaching methods of Marxist thought, and historical education have not been easy because the theory has found itself in glaring divergence with everyday practice. For this reason, if we want to talk today about the most urgent tasks before the party, the state, and youth organizations, it seems to me that ideological and educational work with youth, and the rebuilding of their consciousness should be counted among them.

Please note that for months after the memorable occurrences in Gdansk in 1980, and the signing of so-called social contracts, youth constantly thought along certain lines, lines of "give me". Certain demands were constantly formulated but I think that there was no discussion on how to put these into action. For this reason, I would be for the propositions made by earlier speakers--that it should be stated clearly that the party forms certain goals and a program, the government creates the conditions to carry them out, youth groups--though, I emphasize not only they--constitute a certain organizational sphere, initiating, and prompting youth to act.

Still, with certain problems such as construction of apartments, family matters, and production, the young simply must manage on their own. Our task is to inform them that everything they want today in their homes and in their families, they must work for themselves. We must state clearly that the only element which will allow us to realize our dreams is work. And who doesn't dream about a comfortable apartment, about a cultured and social life?

In speaking about ideological and educational matters, it is not without satisfaction that I here want to stress that ideological and educational work in the armed forces has always been the apple of the eye of the military administration and also of the administration of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth. The army's attitude toward the tasks set before it in martial law, which concerns both the members of our organization and soldiers outside the Union, confirms the fact that we have conducted this ideological and educational work on a very high level.

I stress this matter because we have before us a range of problems in this area. I would like to call your attention to two problems concerning youth: the development of a historical consciousness (this concerns all youth of school age but not only them), and the need to promote the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism among the young generation, and to develop the ability to utilize the categories of thought of this philosophical system. These are very important matters. We cannot forget about them.

Jerzy Jaskiernia: - In connection with the problems of developing a historical consciousness, I would like to support the initiative which originated at the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, and is currently being carried out, and that is the publication of an edition entitled "Corrections From History".

I think that it would be very difficult to formulate the thesis that ideological and educational attempts were not made at all in the past. It would be impossible, if only because the subject constantly came up and it was said that ideological and educational work is very important, etc. But what happened? It seems to me that a certain separation, maybe not from reality as much as from certain facts. I think that a good consciousness will never be built on the basis of falsifications. Even the most difficult truth must be shown. The young person is able to understand many things, but nothing should be hidden from him.

For the last year and a half, we have observed the phenomenon of certain information reaching many young people for the first time. Why has this been so? In the factory schools, history was not taught. The young person was deprived of the right of historical knowledge, knowledge which would prevent a political opponent's utilizing this lack and spreading propaganda, for provocation of the young.

It seems to me that a great deal of work awaits us in this area. What must be shown is a history without simplification but at the same time a history from which constructive conclusions are drawn, from which pro-socialist, patriotic and international motivations are formed.

There is one more matter which I feel is very important. The decline of ideology of youth organizations did not happen by itself. It occurred, after all, under a worsening social situation which resulted in the interests of the young person moving towards very temporal matters. It seems to me that now a very responsible state program to come up with answers to social problems, a program based on realities and administered by the state, must be undertaken. It would create for the youth organization opportunities to concentrate on ideological and educational goals and show that the organization is intended for discussion and consciousness development. I think, too, that we have identified ideological education too much with political lectures. They are important also but in the proper proportions. More attention should be given to the question of the relationship between the giver and receiver of knowledge. There is subjectivity in reaching the truth. A person usually believes more firmly in what he comes to believe himself with an appropriate number of arguments than what he is told to believe. One of the shortcomings

of many brochures published in recent years is that they contained certain truths already established.

Note comrades that in our country very few young people read any of the Marxist classics in the original. And Marxism is an ideology with a capacity for dissemination. A wide range of youth, western youth as well, are interested in it. In Poland, however, young people often hold to conservative tendencies; there is a kind of fashion for nationalistic myths which theoretically should not be part of a young generation brought up in a socialist state.

The causes of this state of affairs are complicated. If we look through the eyes of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the removal of the unions in 1973 from colleges and high schools (general and technical) had a very negative influence on the ideological and educational staff. Currently, we are returning to these communities but it must be taken into account that this will not show results in ideological activity for at least 2-3 years.

#### A Dialogue About Poland and the Problems of Poles

Andrzej Ornat: - The decreased effectiveness of ideological and educational work, which should be noted, was caused, among other reasons, by a lack of social justice. If, for example, at troop meetings the need for committed activity of every scout, every instructor, was discussed and in the same troop or in a nearby one, there was someone who could shrewdly manipulate many things. Then of course that demoralized the collective. It should be said here, however, that the great majority of the instructors of the Union of Polish Scouts have acted properly, and have correctly understood and carried out their assigned tasks during the last 16 months at the time of the announcement of martial law by the Council of State.

One more point--I think that in the past, in speaking about the need to build a historical consciousness, we have relied too much on the interpretation of facts, and not on the facts themselves. We have not taught youth to draw conclusions; we have simply given a specified interpretation. This is perhaps a warning for today--so that we will not once again go to extremes.

Jan Ignaczak: - It seems to me that there is still one very important question. If we are discussing the ideological commitment of youth, it is with sorrow that we speak about certain undesirable situations in youthful circles and organizations. It seems to me that we should also look at the situation in the party. There, too, were many distressing phenomena. And after all, youth models itself after the older generation which it observes very carefully. Often, youth has observed that the attitudes and behavior of many adults essentially differed from the ideals which they voiced. It seems to me that that is a great evil which still holds the minds of the young. We will have to deal with this; it will be a problem of many years' of educational work.

During the past decade we complained often that youth is not ideological and not active. We lost sight of the fact that there was potential activity present in youth, and we were just not able to reach it. August, 1980, showed

that this potential was enormous. It started in good faith in the name of improving socialism. Later, manipulation led masses of youth astray. It seems to me since we are now richer in experience, since we know that the young, without paying them cheap compliments, are by their very nature ambitious, idealistic, and active, that the question arises of how now, in this most difficult period of the crisis, to act so as to move these immense resources of precious elements, precious feelings in youth and aim at winning them over to help solve the most urgent matters of Poland and Poles. The fate of the Fatherland continues to hang in the balance and the fact that we are in another week of martial law still does not settle anything, although the greatest evil has been removed.

Kazimierz Janik: - It seems to me that among the many irregularities which appeared in the activity of youth organizations, dealing with educational issues should be counted as essential. First of all, we have not talked about basic matters--about Poland and about how we understand the word Fatherland.

Today, when we examine the political forces in our country, those who are with us and those who are not with us, everyone refers to the same watchword, the Fatherland. It is shocking for me that on many occasions which are not always appropriate, the national hymn is sung in an ostentatious way. I realize that, in the Polish army, respect for national symbols and for the national hymn are taught in a particular way. I feel that in every environment, among children and youth, from the earliest years, patriotic content, understood in the classical and historical way, should be most important in the educational process of every organization.

The next problem is the education of youth through the positive example of heroes. Whether in a conscious or unconscious way, our leaders have been made our heroes, and thus our behavior models. These models crumbled, the heroes often faded away, and all our work, our educational efforts, all this was wiped out, and youth suffered a tragedy. Therefore, it seems to me that we should search elsewhere for new models. I propose that the most convincing models will be found when, going about work positively, starting from the fundamentals, we will seek them out in everyday life, in village life, at work and in the family.

Here we come to the third problem, the family. In my opinion, the family is like a small Poland, a small Fatherland.

But how very often divisions have occurred between what happened in the organization and what happened in the home.

Consistency of education in family, in school, and in the workplace is the foundation of the development of our national consciousness.

#### An Authentic Social Movement

Andrzej Ornat: - The main objective, as we see it in the administration of the organization, is a strengthened social movement in the scouts so it stands as an example of the activity of the organization. Where the movement came to

be dominated by organizational structures, by instructors who were better at counting money than at inspiring and assisting social activists, the organization simply lost its educational and influence on youth. Therefore, also, in drawing conclusions from the past, we are heading very strongly toward full democratization of life within the unions. The importance of the councils must be appropriate at all levels, from the Supreme Council to the troop and tribe councils, because from childhood, democracy must be taught, however, from age 16 on up, we want to teach, and at the same time develop democratization of life in an environment of adult instructors. Our main task is to attain an educated and well prepared army of instructors of the Polish Scout Union.

Jerzy Jaskiernia: - I think that the course of the Third Special Congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the maintenance of unity of the union under conditions when there was much pressure to break it up, showed that ZSMP had many qualities which held it together.

I feel, however, that two factors weakened it.

The first is the theatricality of political life, which appeared in the party and also found its way to the Union.

Secondly, there was no mechanism for the democratic selection of leaders. This does not at all mean that automatically everyone was bad because later it appeared that, when subjected to examination, many were shown innocent of wrongdoing. I think that the basic instrument of breaking this unfortunate process was the introduction of democratic electoral methods.

The third element is criticism. Yesterday there was criticism, today there is criticism and tomorrow there will be criticism from the bottom to the top and vice versa--that's only natural. So I'll be going to the voivodship and someone will say that a certain leader is weak. I ask, "Who elected him? You picked him and you have yourself to blame". The leadership function is changing completely. In the past the directors were responsible for "setting up" a person in office. Now I am a witness to the election and congratulate the winner. Later I announce to the people: this is your man. Get behind him not only during the elections but start working with him the next day. Often, people enjoy elections, their intrigues, underhanded maneuvers; this excites them. The next day, work begins, and the leader they have elected is left alone.

Tadeusz Rzepecki: - I would like to add that ZSMP in the army has become self-sufficient since the Third Congress. Youth councils direct the organization, collegiality is well developed, and the process of democratization is continuing dynamically. You hear certain rumors, and even insinuations, that in the army people join organizations under orders. I would here like to refute these ideas as only 62% of the armed forces are ZSMP members. If one became a member of the organization under orders, there would surely be 90%, or more.

A very significant example is that during martial law, more than 5,000 soldiers of the armed forces, previously not part of the Union, joined the ranks of ZSMP. The characteristic thing is that these are 3rd-year soldiers. When we ask about the motives behind this step, the soldiers say that they feel in accord with this organization, that they see what it is accomplishing.

After the announcement of martial law, in the armed forces, by the decision of the Presidium of the Youth Council of the Polish Army, we started an action called "Let's Talk About the Fatherland". I personally attended many of these meetings. Youth leader members meet with the members of ZSMP and discuss the Fatherland, what should be done for the Fatherland today, what should be done in the future and what tasks face military youth in this regard.

Andrzej Ornat: - At the Seventh Congress of the Polish Scout Union, we adopted a new system of programming work in the organization, not one based on fulfilling successive assignments, as in the past, but instead activity based on a resolution of the ZHP statute describing the ideological and educational character of the organization and the physical and psychological needs of children and youth in particular troops. This in a way forces each instructor to get to know his group. Doing it this way simply stimulates activity.

Kazimierz Janik: - I think that in general the fact that independent unions function is a great opportunity for youth. First of all, this has meaning for stimulating activity. If the program is being built from the bottom up, it expresses the needs, potential and ambition of the young. Then, on one hand, it will have acceptance by youth and on the other hand, if it is concrete and useful for the community it will further social acceptance of the organization. Then it will become an organization of the community, the village, or the city.

In regard to rural youth, it is difficult to formulate certain socio-economic advantages just for them. Such advantages must be proposed for the entire countryside; related to this is the question of social action and the productive potential of the young farmer. I am often in rural areas and I sometimes hear it said that martial law will bring a certain decisiveness into rural society because of the way the army functions. Farmers want to see such resolve especially in agricultural politics spurring on socio-economic activity of the countryside. I emphasize, once again, that a resolute, and more importantly, stable rural political program conducted in the interest of the rural areas can help rural youth to see their social progress, not, as has previously been the case, by escaping the village, but they will see this progress in the village itself, having before them a concrete view of what the future holds for agriculture and for the whole Polish countryside. The Union of Rural Youth will fight for this and will strive for its realization.

I also see great potential in the existence of community youth unions which do not in the least impair the ideological unity of youth. Community organizations, in the present situation, will better and more effectively represent and safeguard the real interests of youth. And so ZMW, similar to the organization in the army, will safeguard the interests of rural youth.

### Youth and the Front of National Accord

Jan Ignaczak: - We have strongly criticized the political program conducted with regard to the young in the past ten years. This criticism was correct. It may even have been too mild, and sometimes stronger words may have been warranted.

It seems to me that if we will continue to stand idly by programs which we help to formulate, and later fail to carry out properly, then every program, even the best, will be doomed to failure, or to only partial realization. Therefore, the slogan "from your own law take direction" should become the slogan of the whole youth movement. We must also think about what to do further with the "Everything for Agriculture" program, just as with many other programs. If there is a program "For Youth, With Youth" then this program must of course be carried out, but in a way we must entrust the monitoring of it to youth and give it over to them.

So much for reflection. Now the next matter. There is a great need for social consolidation, a great need to create a Front of National Accord or a Committee for National Salvation. How will particular organizations view this problem, and how will you deal with it in these units and in this new form, which has already begun as the Committee for National Salvation?

Andrzej Ornat: - In speaking about the Front of National Accord, in our work with youth, the premise of the program of the Polish Scout Union is a patriotic education which was an important and inseparable element of the union's work up to December 13, and has been since then. This then is a confirmation of the correctness of the program which is useful to the Fatherland and which is preparing to fulfill a social role. We see the role of our instructors in committees or in the Front of National Accord, in the creation of a wide front of approving people wishing to work for a socialist Poland. There are already examples of this as, for instance, in Poznan where, among the signatories of their Committee for Salvation, are instructors from Council Headquarters and District Headquarters.

From other areas, we are also finding out that not only district commanders but social instructors and teachers are declaring their willingness to unite forces for a socialist Fatherland.

Jerzy Jaskiernia: - Our union expressed support for the ideas of the Front of National Accord in the declaration of the Fifth Plenum of the Main Headquarters, made on December 1 of last year, at a time when this idea was just developing. It reflected the expectations of a considerable number of members of ZSMP.

Nevertheless, I think that the problem is not an easy one. In many Committees for National Salvation, there is already much activity among young members of ZSMP. Considerable evidence of this has been seen, and it has been covered by the press, radio, and television. It seems, however, that in addition to what is happening today, it is necessary to see what will happen in the future. After all, it has become a political fact that the idea of

accord offered by the party in the fall of 1981 was not accepted by everyone. The problem of how to shape the structure of accord, accord with whom and within what limits, is still an open question. I am for the front of socialist accord which means a front with everybody who wants to join their different points of view under a socialist platform. These can be Catholics, other believers, or activists of trade unions; the demand that everyone share the same views cannot be made because this would be repeating the mistake of the past, pretending that people are all alike.

In conclusion, I think a more precise description of the functions and forms of the Committee for National Salvation is needed so we do not commit the same mistakes as we did with the National Unity Front. The point is that it be an instrument allowing a person standing on socialist ground, though he may have a different view of the world, to have the opportunity to really have an influence on the affairs of the country or his own region.

Kazimierz Janik: - Of course when it comes to the aims of the Front of National Accord, I agree with everything said. I only want to add that on December 4, 1981, at the Plenum the Rural Youth Union spoke for the idea of national accord. I realize that every patriot, every person who sees any affair of the Fatherland as a primary concern should deal with it in an explicit matter. The next matter is in what way we will enter the Front of National Accord as individual youth unions. At the same plenum we spoke for the joint action of all youth organizations standing on socialist ground but our support of the idea alone does not mean a simple acceptance.

What we mean is the activity of forces which understand the goals for which the idea of national accord announced by General Jaruzelski was proposed.

I would like to mention one more thought and refer to the goals of the now forming Committees for National Salvation. Youth should be very interested in taking their proper place in these committees.

I would like to state clearly that we cannot expect someone else to bring us together. Our concern is that we find our proper place in the Committees. I would not like to anticipate any particular direction of growth on the Committee for National Salvation, but who knows whether the position of youth in the system of authority will depend on their position in these committees and on their activity. Therefore, I would very much like to assure ourselves the proper place and proper importance in the Committees for National Salvation, showing clearly the designated initiative and activity--and we are doing just this.

#### Youth Unions and Martial Law

Antoni Kazana: - What are the most urgent tasks before your organization under conditions of martial law?

Jerzy Jaskiernia: I would say that above all martial law does not free us from our responsibility. Some erroneously think that martial law is like the defense of Czestochowa with the idea of barricading themselves in a building and fighting until the last drop of blood is spilled.

Martial law created new rules for a new game. Granted, at first it demanded greater mobilization, even defense, but after all we must get to building something substantial. Martial law does not mean the end of activity but just the opposite. Therefore, when looking at the various efforts of ZSMP, it is very important that martial law does not delay the beginning of economic reform or of anything connected with the mobilization of young people to carry out this reform.

We spoke of this at the Fifth Plenum of the Main Headquarters, and recently the Presidium of the Main Headquarters formulated a very specific, concrete proposal as to what must be done in this area. Economic reform is the process of enterprises becoming independent and the releasing of these economic mechanisms. Reform without the activity of young people will not work.

On one more point, it is a fact that the activity of trade unions has ceased. Social commissions are being created. Many of our units are initiating the creation of these social commissions and what's more we see that social commissions are solving many matters which youth are interested in. The old trade unions, disregarding them, did not fulfill the function of effective advocate or their function was a weakened one. They did, however, work out many routine matters in the social, material, tourist, and sport areas. And suddenly, in the past 10-15 months we have begun to notice gaps. I feel that a youth organization must more boldly enter this area too. I would say further that a very significant question is the creation of new conditions for the construction of an ideological consciousness in youth.

Finally, martial law, it seems, makes possible mobilizing for action. It is true that it is a sorry argument that it took martial law for this but we have experienced that there are plant boards and gmina boards where, only when commissioners appeared and asked what was going on, did they stimulate certain activity. Of course, the point is not that it happened once, only simply that a little order in many units would certainly do us good.

Certain examples of the mess in the administration carried over to social structures; the point is to have clearly designed goals, means to carry them out, tasks, to start certain functions of life. We are counting on the organization being able to fully realize their initiatives and their forms of activity as the rigors of martial law will be relaxed.

Andrzej Ornat: - In the Polish Scout Union, we have acknowledged the fact that the introduction of martial law cannot change the priority of the organization's program of action adopted at the congress. On the contrary, some problems were more sharply defined. Secondly, we cannot wait but must, together with youth, begin activity to develop the consciousness of the demands of martial law, to activate a climate of trust in the Military Council for National Salvation in the efforts of the army as a moral and political force which safeguarded us from a catastrophe in mid-December, 1981.

The third matter, looking more broadly, is the question of schools. The Polish school must regain its instructional and educational value. This is

very important and is related to teacher preparation and to the teacher fulfilling his proper role in the educational process of the school. This is a huge task, not only of the administration, but of the teachers and instructors of ZHP. I include here the work of the officers in the schools.

Tadeusz Rzepecki: - When it comes to ZSMP in the armed forces, then of course we are carrying out the program adopted by the Third Congress and the program adopted at the First Conference of ZSMP in the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic. We are essentially assigning ourselves two goals, the first being the further strengthening of our role in developing the conscious exercies of soldiers' tasks, which we are carrying out under martial law. Here, we are talking about the informational and clarifying efforts as well as work on developing the cohesiveness of the soldiers' ranks, etc.

A second area concerns the problems occurring in soldiers' collectives, communication of these problems by the proper superior, and as much as possible helping to solve them. This is a very important area. I don't have to say that soldiers are performing complicated tasks in a difficult atmosphere. We are also thinking about, and we are close to formulating, a detailed concept of how the members of ZSMP of the armed forces will in the Spring expand their action of helping our socialist Fatherland.

Kazimierz Janik: - It seems that when there is talk about the work of youth unions at the present time, you have to begin with the following thesis. If martial law is to serve to normalize social, political, and economic life, then the activity of youth unions must be as it always has been. That means that it is necessary to organize work in circles and in basic echelons, encouraging their activity. For example, noone will exempt ZMW from showing the truth about the countryside and about agriculture, because this truth will be of use and will lead to more accurate decisions by the authorities. The next matter is that the correct and wise decisions of the authorities must be supported by the activity of youth unions.

Jan Ignaczak: - After listening to the comments of our comrades, I think that I have a right to summarize them in this way: We must do everything possible to shorten the period of martial law, to form a lasting strong basis which will ensure that further development be made appropriate to the aspirations of not only the generation of young people in our country but also to the aspirations on the road of socialist development of our whole society.

Here, I would like to graciously thank you for your participation in this very interesting discussion, so fitting to our situation. In its introductory segment, it was an attempt at a deeper answer to the question of the causes of all these worries which plague all of society and youth, and in its essential, main thrust, it constituted a constructive attempt at answering the questions about what youth organizations will do to get out as quickly as possible from under the troubles and misfortunes which have befallen our country. It seems that in this there has been no success in the age of propaganda. I also do not see an easy optimism but I really do see in this some certitude that we are able to escape from the depths, using the popular description, to emerge dynamically with the program, with guarantees that this program will be fulfilled.

CIVIL DEFENSE DEVELOPMENTS IN 1981, 1982 NOTED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 2, Feb 82, pp 1-3

[Text] We have passed the 30-year anniversary of the Civil Defense of the Polish People's Republic. Though this has been an unusually difficult period, we have had numerous positive results in the area of civil defense. All of the organizational units, from the central down to the plant level, have done their job despite a difficult socio-economic situation. The units of civil defense, the organic part of the state administration and national economy, have been able to avoid all destructive and demobilizing influences. This is above all the work of full-time, paid workers and volunteer, social activists for the Civil Defense. Civil defense matters have not been lost sight of. Thanks to this, and to the appreciation for civil defense by working people, last year we conducted a series of educational exercises, the best of which included complex voivodship exercises of civil defense forces in Riala Podlaska and night exercises of the Civil Defense in Sochaczew. Exercises were conducted even in many gmina (parishes) and plants which the crisis has hit particularly hard.

In the whole country, a series of exhibits of military technical equipment and equipment of the national economy, useful for carrying out rescue actions by civil defense forces, was organized. With impact, and with financial economy, an exhibit of the civil defense department of the chemical industry, and of light industry, was organized in Lodz, and in many other places, in honor of the 30th anniversary of the Civil Defense of the Polish people's Republic.

Contrary to appearances, the number of defense shows, displays, and competitions of medical and health teams, and of youth sport/defense teams has not decreased. Basic training of the populace, and of plant teams has been maintained at an average annual level, and only the number of work-release courses in WOSK of the Civil Defense went down, this a result of the known problems in the organization of mass feeding.

Despite a range of difficulties, the plan for supply of military technical equipment and specialized equipment was fulfilled, which in a period of general organizational and supply impossibilities, should be recognized as an achievement of the supply organs of civil defense.

Last year, there was also noted an improvement in the modernization of store-houses of military technical equipment and specialized equipment of civil defense, and in the maintenance of this equipment. This area of our work testifies eloquently that under even the most difficult conditions, we can work effectively. Moreover, modernization work and renovation of defense buildings has continued.

In accordance with the instruction of the head of the Civil Defense of Poland for 1981, the voivodship, gmina and plant civil defense plans were updated. In the framework of the events of the 30th anniversary, a series of meetings was conducted. They had the character of workers' councils. There, problems of defense were discussed, information was exchanged, and the most meritorious civil defense activists and workers were honored.

The past year was characterized by civil defense forces playing a part in rescue operations. Worthy of particular note was the contribution of the members of Civil Defense units in saving people and property from the floods in Jelenia Gora and Elblag voivodships.

As every year, civil defense forces have done various types of social work for cities, villages, and places of work. This work, part of which was done as a requirement of celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Civil Defense, had, to a greater degree than heretofore, a character of action started from the bottom, at the initiative of local people and work crews.

Showing the significance of the past year for the development of civil defense is the fact that the socio-economic crisis brought about a spontaneous, almost instinctive consciousness of the importance of civil defense in part of society. What, up to now, has seemed only a slogan announcing that civil defense "is needed today", became more real. This is similar to many recommendations of civil defense which for various reasons, are not too earnestly or exactly done, or considered in the everyday activity of the administration and the economy. Life has shown that if we do not do everything we are supposed to, and do it well, nothing will be saved, and as a result, there will be moral as well as material losses. Since December 13 of last year, the functioning of civil defense has been subject to the demands of martial law, and to the needs related to this. The legal basis for carrying out the tasks of the Civil Defense in this extraordinary situation is found in Directives 15 and 16, of December 13, 1981, of the Head of the Civil Defense of Poland, concerning the requirement of fulfilling active duty in civil defense during martial law, the tasks arising from this, and the assignment of organizational and mobilizing work of the Civil Defense. In fulfilling the resolutions of the published acts, the competent units of the Civil Defense began to set about the defense of bakeries, food storehouses, and later, other plants and economic sites. As difficulties with travel grew because of the severe snowfall, they participated, along with soldiers of the People's Army of Poland, in clearing roads, railroad tracks, junctions, loading ramps, and service roads leading to warehouses containing flood-control equipment. Part of the Civil Defense forces was placed in a state of alert for flood-control action. Unloading of railroad cars, automotive vehicles, and even delivery of packages to people became part of the work of the members of the units.

Civil defense work in changed conditions made necessary a more intensive effort by the field inspectors of the Civil Defense to aid in the work of units. Therefore, crews of these inspectors continuously monitored the efficient carrying out of martial law tasks by Civil Defense forces. They worked tours of duty, gathered information about snow conditions, about the threat of flood and other difficulties. They organized appropriate efforts according to needs and possibilities.

In 1982, many and various tasks will have to be carried out. First among these is the need to popularize the idea of defense with the objective justification of not only the need for civil defense preparations, but above all with the concrete proof that these tasks can be fulfilled even with the most frugal management of the economy. The main effects of savings can be obtained by improving the organizational structures of the administration and units of civil defense, proper storage and maintenance of equipment, and also by increasing the knowledge of how to use this equipment to best advantage during training and exercises.

The training centers of the Civil Defense staff must give particular attention to improving the instructional qualifications of lecturers and teachers so that every lecture and practical exercise with members of Civil Defense units, with the populace, and with work crews, be conducted at a high level. The quality of civil defense training is taking on significant meaning.

In 1982, one of the important tasks will be preparing and conducting voivodship and inter-voivodship civil defense exercises, and also exercises at lower levels. They should be utilized to the utmost for performing useful work for plants, gmina and cities. There will be a need also to improve the work of civil defense radiation analysis centers.

The strengthening of civil defense places new tasks before science, therefore we must develop scientific research work, involving scientific centers in this.

Important, and very typical in the new year, is the task of safeguarding suspended projects for Civil Defense needs. This task has a close relationship to the demand to save.

With the constant threat of nuclear war, the creation of a united, all-Polish system of detecting nuclear explosions is indispensable. We cannot remain passive to the strategic weapons which NATO are to install in Europe. These same reasons demand the revision of programs of training the populace and work crews. The issue of self-defense should be expanded with concrete methods making possible our survival in the radically difficult conditions of war.

In our tasks for 1982, it is necessary to see the problem of a more complex understanding of civil defense. Consideration of the influence of resolutions about the self-government and the functioning of enterprises is indispensable for the realization of defense tasks in the national economy, which will begin to work under new socio-economic conditions.

Civil defense will continue to be an inseparable part of the activity of the national economy and administration. Civil defense matters must be treated with the same attention as other concerns.

All citizens should participate in carrying out the tasks of the Civil Defense, genuinely and honestly working on the entrusted tasks. The strengthening of civil defense is our common interest, and patriotic duty to the people's Fatherland.

9915

CSO: 2600/575

## ATTITUDES OF NAVAL PERSONNEL POLLED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 3, Mar 82 pp 3-8

[Article by Comdr (doctor habilitatus) Henryk Adamczyk: "Factors Shaping the Patriotic-Defense Attitudes of Seamen in the Regular Service"]

[Text] One of the basic problems in the process of developing patriotic-defense attitudes of seamen in the regular service is that of evaluating the factors which exert a basic influence on the formation of opinions and convictions concerning aspects of sociopolitical life. To this end, seamen were asked the following question: "What is the basic factor that shapes your opinions and convictions concerning various aspects of sociopolitical life?" The seamen's answers are shown in the table.

Factors Shaping Seamen's Opinions and Convictions

Basic Factors	Answers, percentage
Family	84.8*
Mass media	75.8
Colleagues	46.6
Movies	40.5
Military training lessons	38.1
Novels and popular-science writings	34.3
Military superiors	25.7
Other factors	19.4

\* Percentages do not add up to 100. Respondents could underscore any number of factors.

Polls conducted in Navy units showed that the basic source of opinions and convictions for most seamen is the family. Many of the ideological-moral and patriotic-defense attitudes and traits observed should be examined from the standpoint of attitudes representative of the family.<sup>1</sup>

Results show that for 75.8 percent of the seamen polled, the mass media is an

<sup>1</sup> Compare B. Golebiowski: "Dynamika aspiracji. Studium przemian świadomości społecznej młodzieży polskiej w latach 1945-1975. Wybrane zagadnienia" [Dynamics of Aspirations. A Study of Changes in Social Awareness of Polish Youth During 1945-1975. Selected Problems], KIW [Book and Knowledge Publishing House], Warsaw, 1977, pp 279-367.

important factor in shaping opinions and convictions. The distribution of statistical quantities does not indicate clear fluctuational tendencies. The exception here are the seamen of intelligentsia origin, who from among the mass media put television in first place--90.4 percent of the responses. It was also observed that these seamen more frequently had negative options regarding the role of the trainers in shaping desired attitudes in the trainees.

In view of the statistical indicators of the seamen's opinion on the importance of the mass media as a source of their convictions, the conclusion may be drawn that this must be considered by the commanders to be a basic factor affecting the ideological-moral and patriotic-defense attitudes of our trainees.<sup>2</sup> Skilfull use of this source of ideological knowledge may be a factor in integrating the commanders and seamen on the basis of a certain type of partnership. Entering into a discussion on the subjects dealt with in the mass media, engaging in polemics on the theses they expound, pointing to solutions other than those proposed by the authors of these theses, and the expression, by the seamen, of their own opinions, has greater ideological-training value than glib announcement of even the most valuable information, with no reference to the seamen's own knowledge and experience.

In the studies conducted in the Navy, an indicator was obtained showing that for 46.6 percent of the seamen, one of the basic sources for shaping their convictions, opinions or assessments of sociopolitical manifestations is their colleagues. This stems from the appeal for the seamen of the group which is the subunit (ship's crew) and the strong prestige of the opinion of the social group.<sup>3</sup>

In the seamen collectivity polled, 25.7 percent chose, from among the categories named, the person of the trainer as the factor influencing their convictions, opinions, etc. The veracity of this percentage indicator was compared with another category of response, namely: "military training lessons". This was indispensable, for it was important to eliminate, to the maximum extent possible, subjective factors related to the individual evaluation of the military trainer.

Statistical data reflecting the role of training courses in the system of shaping patriotic-defense attitudes showed large concurrence with the results given above. Of the total polled, 38.1 percent expressed the conviction that changes in the intellectual system, in their patriotic-defense attitudes, are made under the influence of participation in the specialist and political training process.

Considering the discussional nature of interpreting the statistical material obtained, it seems appropriate to treat the empirical data more as an illustration of certain tendencies and phenomena than as an explanation of the problem. It is extremely difficult, to determine, for example, what quantity of percentage indicator

<sup>2</sup> For more on this subject see: T. Goban-Klas: "Komunikowanie morskie. Zarys problematyki socjologicznej" [Mass Communication. Outline of Sociological Problems]. Center for Journalistic Studies, Krakow, 1978, pp 185-304.

<sup>3</sup> See R. Adamczyk: "Influence of Social Group on Attitudes of its Members", PRZEGLAD MORSKI, 1974, No 7-8, pp 42-51.

of positive responses should be obtained in order to determine whether the training process has achieved the intended training goals. One of the criteria of veracity may be the seamen's behavior at his duty assignment in the subunit or on ship, i.e., his performance of military duties.

However, on the basis of the studies conducted it may be concluded that for the large majority of seamen the military training process, as a source of shaping patriotic-defense opinions and convictions, is not a sole factor, as was reflected also in the relatively low general evaluation of the indoctrination advantages of this process.

In the polls conducted pertaining to the basic factors shaping opinions and convictions on the subject of what is going on today, 40.5 percent of the respondents named movies and 34.3 percent named novels. The role of these factors in developing the seaman's intellect is important. In the socialist army, the importance of efficient circulation of political, scientific, and technical information and cultural values, the source of which may be a movie as well as a good novel, cannot be overestimated. A movie and a literary work exerts influence on a seaman's intellectual development and on the results of his work, and the amount of this influence is dependent on cognitive values and the artistic level of the work.<sup>4</sup>

All of the factors discussed, and many others, often difficult to classify unequivocally, have an effect on the final patriotic-defense attitude; the amount of this influence is determined by various conditions. However, it is generally stressed that the seaman's personal activeness in obtaining knowledge about a subject which concerns him plays a tremendous role in shaping or enhancing the intellectual component of every attitude, and mainly the ideological-moral and patriotic-defense attitude.<sup>5</sup> That is why training methods should always be chosen that are applicable to the training situation. We should always remember that our trainee is not an individual isolated from society, that, exactly to the contrary, he exists in this society as a member of different formal and informal social groups, both in the military as well as outside the military, and that he is under the influence of unsupervised training forces, sometimes even not known by commanders (see figure).

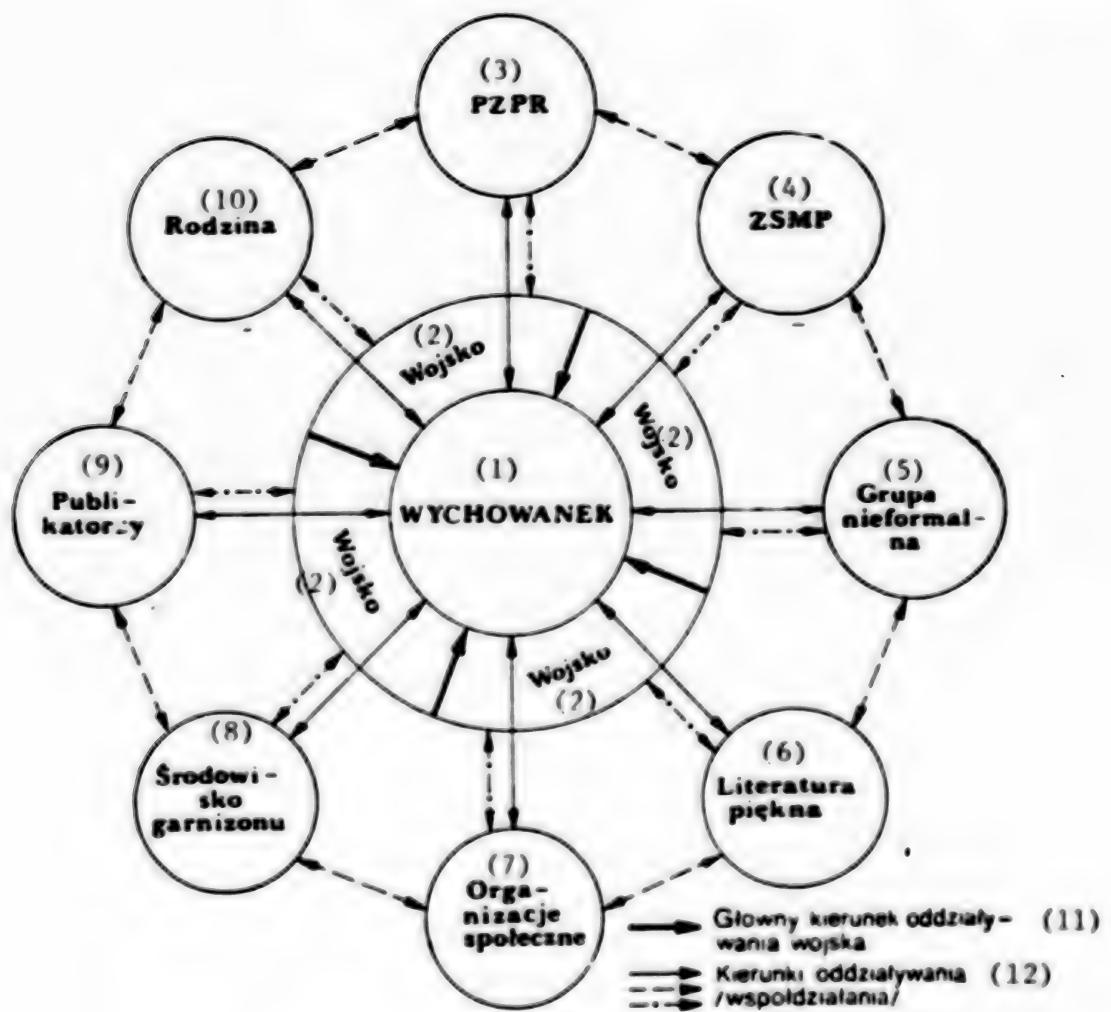
Familiarity, insofar as possible, with all these influences, and, if necessary, counteracting them, is within the scope of military training and makes it necessary to select the most suitable training methods for a given training situation.

#### Training Proposals and Postulates

In the changing economic and sociopolitical conditions of today's world, youth encounters different conflicting propagandist, ideological, training and institutional influences. Several factors which determine the patriotic-defense attitudes of seamen in the regular service can be named.

<sup>4</sup> Compare H. Walentynowicz: "Podstawy czytelnictwa powszechnego" [Elements of General Readership], Ossolineum Press, Wroclaw-Warsaw-Krakow, 1970, p 279.

<sup>5</sup> Compare J. Rejkowski: "Z zagadnien psychologii motywacji" [Problems of Motivational Psychology]. WSIP, Warsaw, 1977, p 23-87.



**Key:**

- |                                    |                                             |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 1. Trainee                         | 8. Garrison environment                     |
| 2. Armed services                  | 9. Mass media                               |
| 3. Polish United Workers Party     | 10. Family                                  |
| 4. Union of Socialist Polish Youth | 11. Main direction of military influence    |
| 5. Informal group                  | 12. Directions of influence (participation) |
| 6. Novels                          |                                             |
| 7. Social organization             |                                             |

1. Family upbringing based frequently on local traditions and customs shapes the ideological-moral "backbone" in youth, that is, the so-called outer layer of a system of convictions combined with emotions and sentiments. If, in childhood, uniform and strong upbringing influence occurred, then this outer layer may be so strong and durable that even social transformations and the education attained will have a minimal effect on transforming it. Permanent convictions formed on an

emotional base then function autonomously and independent of a change in the conditions in which they were established. Youth believes them to be a private and personal matter and even identifies them with their own personality. That is why this outer layer becomes the core of the seaman's opinions and determines the way in which he assimilates matter inculcated by commanders.

2. The elementary schools, and then the middle school, adapted for scientific, social and historical content, develops new opinions in the trainee, often independent of his previous opinions. That is why information or theories which are objectively conflicting may appear to the trainees to be subjectively conforming, for they do not perceive any disparity between them. When secondary influences are not substantively in agreement with the previous influences, then another layer of opinions may form, of a different substance and permanence, which we will conventionally call an intermediate layer.

3. The personal experience acquired by seamen is rectified by the trainers and the military environment. Some submit to it more or less passively and others actively attempt to change the existing conditions of military life. Thanks to such behavior, seamen constantly create for themselves and for others new situations and problems which must be solved. The personal successes and misfortunes in the lives of the seamen have a great influence on the direction in which their patriotic-defense attitudes are shaped, and they also play an important role in the development of their personal and social aspirations.

In the light of the preferences of military youth as shown in this article, we should particularly stress those problems which in the list of training goals in the military service may be regarded as of outstanding importance. They are:

First: the ideological struggle from the standpoint of the patriotic, internationalist and moral training of youth performing military service in the Navy, has its international dimension. The propaganda apparatus of the United States and other capitalist countries maintains in effect the strategic goals of the struggle with socialism, adapts the tactics of this struggle to a new international situation, conducts regrouping of forces, improves the organizational structure and technical outfitting of propaganda means, and increases financial outlays for diversionary activities.

Second: awareness of the fact that ideological-moral, patriotic and internationalistic training of our youth is an intense and relentless struggle for socialism both in the domestic as well as the international system, should be part of our everyday activity. We are training our seamen to be the defenders of their own fatherland, their own nation, and we are training them also as soldiers of socialism, for our own combined defense policy. The better and the more determinedly we are able to translate the idea of patriotism and internationalism into practical language, the more our military service will be able to play the role of an important factor in integrating the nation around its basic tasks in the building of socialism, in the cause of ensuring the country unfailing security.

Third: the road to the development and shaping of awareness and patriotic-defense attitudes among military youth is shown by PZPR resolutions and directives of the

management of the Ministry of National Defense. In view of the present requirements of the ideological struggle in the patriotic-defense training of seamen, the following should be done:

- a) the main emphasis should be placed on objectively and convincingly showing those results and effects for the Polish nation that were produced by People's Poland. And both from the standpoint of today as well as the future;
- b) it should be stated that the highest patriotic duty continues to be work in behalf of propagating and strengthening among seamen the conviction that it is necessary to make efforts to strengthen, in every respect, the defense of our fatherland and to respect the obligations of military service;
- c) explaining the mutual connections of socialist ideology and our national culture is an important task for commanders and the premise by which it is possible to shape the patriotic and internationalist emotions and the patriotic-defense attitudes of seamen in the regular service.

Fourth: in the process of shaping the patriotic-defense attitudes of seamen more broadly in a more directed way, use should be made of the patriotic-moral values embodied in the state and military symbols requiring particular social respect (emblem, the state flag, military standards, etc.) and also in the text of the "Constitution of the Polish People's Republic", the military service oath, "The Principles of Ethics of a Soldier in People's Poland" and "Customs of Professional Soldiers in the Polish People's Army".

Fifth: results of the polls permit us to say that personal models fulfill an important role in shaping the patriotic-defense and ideological-moral attitudes of seamen. That is why, based on the achievements of recent years, we should enlarge the list of personal models by personages of meritorious revolutionaries, heroes of the Polish People's Army, fighters for national and social liberation and other people of particular merit in work and in military service. The group of figures from the Polish youth movement should also include young soldiers from the period of the front-line and underground battles and the consolidation of people's government and the building of the bases of socialism.

In shaping seamen's patriotic-defense attitudes more and better use should be made of the traditions of peacetime service and work in the Polish People's Army, including publicizing, as models worthy of emulation, figures who have performed exemplary service and good work--peacetime heroes distinguished by being listed in the "Honor Roll of Soldierly Deeds", exemplary commanders, training and discipline leaders, innovators and efficiency experts, various specialists, and reserve seamen, who honestly and conscientiously perform their soldierly and civic duties.

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CSO: 2600/576

TARNOBRZEG PARTY PLENUM ON YOUTH HELD

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 30 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Z. Flasza and Z. Dubis: "To Assure Realistic Perspectives of Development for Young Generation"]

[Text] (Own Information)

The work of party echelons and organizations in behalf of the socialist, patriotic education of youth and improving the conditions of their start in life and vocation was the theme of deliberations during yesterday's plenum meeting of KW PZPR [Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party] in Tarnobrzeg. The deliberations, which were opened by the First Secretary of KW PZPR, Janusz Basiak, were attended in addition to the secretaries of basic party echelons, by representatives of the authorities, activists of youth organizations and representatives of various institutions, by: chief of the Socio-Vocational Section of the Central Committee of PZPR, Stanislaw Gabrielski; deputy director of ZHP [Polish Scout Union], Antoni Krysiuk; secretary of the Main Board of ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], Krystyna Swider; and secretary of the National Board of ZMW [Rural Youth Union], Leszek Lesniak.

The report of the executive board was presented by secretary of KW, Tadeusz Jarocki. He stated, inter alia, that without youth participation and without their involvement in the renewal process, solving the most difficult problems of the country will not be possible. In the Tarnobrzeg Province the activity of the youth has particular significance. People under 35 years of age constitute 58 percent of the total province population, while the number of individuals in the 18-34 age bracket exceeds 151,000. There are over 4,100 new marriages each year, and the young couples constitute 42 percent of the nearly 17,000 of those awaiting cooperative housing. Youth also constitute 57 percent of the total employed in the socialized economy of the region and account for 20 percent of vocationally active farmers.

Undertaking of work on arranging and solving many matters should be to simplify the life start of the youth and facilitate their active participation in fulfilling vocational aspirations, rebuilding social life and augmentating the educational and cultural wealth. Amelioration of the difficult situation of youth should facilitate a gradual regaining of their confidence in the

party and the state. This is particularly significant in view of the ruthless struggle that has been taking place for many months over the ideological views of the youth, their accepted system of values and their attitude toward history and current events.

Demagogic arguments and the inexorable forms and methods of influence used by the opponents of socialism have resulted in an ideological breakdown in a significant number of the youth and prepossessed them against that which is socialist and consequently often strengthening their false understanding of issues of the country and the world.

Anti-socialist propaganda activities have been facilitated by the difficult economic situation of the country and indecisive counteraction by the party echelons and organizations, which were too preoccupied with their own affairs and by the youth organizations themselves and their own full-time apparatus that were not able to influence the reanimation of ideological work.

In spite of preventing the open formation of anti-socialist attitudes in the youth, the situation in that area has not significantly improved. Ideological problems are continually lost among the economic and social-domestic issues. The only chance for departure from that impasse is in a rapid increase in the activity of the youth movement. That might not be easy, because one-half of the members of ZSMP have left it, although there still remain in it many young, politically declared people, including 3,720 party members, on whom the process of activizing the organizations must and should be based.

It is also indispensable that the party organizations, their aktiv, and veterans of the workers movement, conduct a dialogue with the youth. Today, more than ever before, creation of an inter-generation bridge, built on pillars of mutual trust and respect, experience and enthusiasm and common concern for the fate of the fatherland, is needed.

Deliberations of yesterday's plenum of KW in Tarnobrzeg were preceded (in January of this year) by a session of the executive board of the KW on the topic of the situation in the youth movement that inaugurated a broad discussion with youth on how to create conditions for the active participation of youth in the vocational, social, and political life of the province.

Discussion has been conducted, in the party committees and by the boards of youth organizations, about the current situation in the youth community the immediate tasks of the party in its work with the youth. Broadly conceived consultations have interested the party aktiv in youth problems and have facilitated comparisons between the evaluations of the work of the province's youth organizations and the realities of particular communities and an understanding of the views of the aktiv on the subject of ways to get out of the crisis that has afflicted the youth movement.

Opinions were also gathered about the most difficult issues facing youth and about their comments on party propositions.

In the discussion that preceded the deliberations of the plenum of the KW, the most frequently raised issues pertained to housing. This is a fundamental

social problem and a political issue as well, since the present rate of construction does not fulfill the prospects for obtaining individual housing.

As stated in the report, this problem should be worked out jointly with the youth that is based upon the availability of local raw materials. Support is needed to give initiatives to establish youth housing cooperatives, especially in small towns and gmina [parishes] where there is no cooperative and communal construction.

Support of these initiatives is an important task of the regional administration, specifically in designating the localization of the construction and in settling formal-legal matters. The following is also indispensable: more efficient assistance by the factories' social services in continuously improving the housing conditions for the work force; and commitment of the administration of the Provincial Office for effective assistance to other forms of construction and to create priorities for single and multi-family private construction. Finally, it was stated that the youth themselves can contribute to the amelioration of the housing problem through the remodeling attics, garrets, and other spaces for housing; however, all the barriers preventing such undertakings need to be eliminated.

It was emphasized that solving the problems of the young people must take place with their active participation, since their own, well organized effort is the fundamental factor that ensures their obtaining changes for the better. Opportunities for such participation will be created by the currently introduced economic reform; however, to fully utilize its positive effects it is imperative that a proper cadre policy be implemented that would give an opportunity for job advancement to those young people who are outstanding in their qualifications and political-moral attitude.

In Tarnobrzeg Province an advantageous situation still remains in regard to the ability to employ the graduates of vocational and higher education schools. Yet, since economic reform will create certain new conditions in the functioning of the job market, the educational authorities must better readjust the directions of youth education to the needs of the local economy.

More attention should be devoted to the rural youth, especially by creating more favorable conditions for their life and work. Presently, 7,650 individual farms in the Tarnobrzeg Province are tended by farmers 34 years of age or younger. This comprises about 1 percent of the farms, while 20,170 farms belong to farmers who have passed the age of 64. In this context it was noted that at least 2,000 hectares of land from the PFZ [State Land Fund] can be sold off to farmers each year. This represents an opportunity for the young people to choose the profession of the farmer, however they still need assistance and help to buy the land, the means of production, and construction materials.

Presently, the provincial authorities are considering the possibility of setting aside a certain part of their tools and machinery, designating them for the young farmers who are starting out. It was noted that the PGRs [State

Farms], productive cooperatives, and SKRs [Agricultural Circle Cooperatives] ought to play larger roles to activate rural youth.

A lot of attention was devoted in the report to the significance of the school and the teacher in forming awareness in the young generation, and to the role played by the centers for dissemination of culture in the processes of citizen education, all-round development, and the formation of sensitivity and creative imagination in the youth. Concern was expressed over the lack of interest on the part of enterprises in developing cultural activities - this is demonstrated by a significant reduction in financial allotments and by the elimination of some hobby groups and circles. It was recognized as recommendable that youth organizations take over programmatic care of these centers in the enterprises and in the countryside. It was emphasized that the youth should feel as managers; that the centers should serve to fulfill the needs and aspirations of the youth.

Sports and tourism were recognized as important fields of youth activities. While the network of available facilities in the province is poorly developed, even that small number of available sports halls, athletic fields, and stadiums is underutilized. The authorities responsible for the development of sports and physical culture in the region must make decisions that are conducive to improving the accessibility of athletic installations to youth. More concern need be given to the development of sports in the countryside. A belief was expressed that much in that area will depend on the initiative and activity of the renewing Rural Youth Union which has rich tradition.

The report outlined all the possibilities of creating conditions in which youth would be able to act independently to satisfy their needs.

The problems and concerns of the young generation were profoundly reflected in the discussion. The debate was open by Eugeniusz Durda, member of KW PZPR, who called attention to the problems of rural youth. The conditions under which young farmers start out are seriously impaired by the difficult economic situation. The scarcity of the equipment and means of agricultural production that is felt by many young people discourages them from undertaking the effort of independent farming. Accordingly, there is need for a greater concern on the part of the administration and the units of agricultural services with the affairs of the young. Improvements are needed in the dispersal system of machinery, in the distribution of the means of production, and in the system of state regulation and recompensation. The speaker devoted a lot of attention to the problems of culture and recreation in the countryside, noting the dangerous tendencies toward the elimination of rural clubs and cultural centers and toward poorer and poorer capabilities to satisfy the cultural needs of rural youth.

Similar problems were addressed by the next speakers: Leszek Buciur, chairman of the ZMW in Lazow; Jan Konieczny, member of the KW PZPR; and Jacek Gardynik, chairman of the Provincial Office of ZMW, who also presented the goals and tasks of ZMW in the rural environment. Edward Trznadel, member of the KW PZPR, spoke on the subject of the profitability of agricultural production on the lands of young farmers. Marta Dubiel, vice-chairwoman of the ZW ZSMP, took up

the problems of education in agricultural schools, especially regarding the practical teaching of the profession and the feasibility of employing the graduates of those schools. Particular attention was paid to the speech by Witold Lasisz, member of the KC PZPR, on the subject of rural youth problems. The work with youth, said the speaker, particularly the party work, should be a sincere dialogue between the activists of the older generation with the young. That dialogue must be conducted based on the facts and realia of today. Another fundamental issue is the creation of opportunities for the full participation of youth in the life of their environment.

Another essential subject in the plenary discussion pertained to problems of socialization in school. Antoni Piedel, member of the KW PZPR Executive, Stefan Dynowski, member of the KW PZPR, took the floor successively on that subject. Although it is often stated that school is responsible for the state of awareness of youth and their feeling of being lost and frustrated, school is merely the reflection of the general situation. Teachers have not been, and are still not properly prepared to teach history and civics. There is a shortage of textbooks and information materials. Instruction in the party organization school has been treated perfunctorily. The educational system of the Tarnobrzeg province suffers from the lack of adequately qualified cadres. Hence, the proposal to establish a secondary teachers school and a division of elementary education. Also discovered, were the unfavorable influences of the reorganization of the youth movement in the past years and the need to create conditions for authentic and independent activity of those organizations that are presently active in schools. Attention was called to the necessity of pooling the efforts of all institutions involved in education, and to solving the problems of the unorganized and the so called difficult youth.

The activities of the squads and tribes of the ZHP were presented by Jacek Czech, scoutmaster of the Tarnobrzeg Council of the ZHP. Andrzej Kalina, member of the KW PZPR, spoke about the problems of socio-vocational adaptation and called attention to the necessity for changes in the cadres policy, and in particular to the appearance in that area of the symptoms of generation conflict, which occur in some environments.

In her comprehensive presentation, Barbara Godzisz, the chairwoman of the ZW ZSMP, presented the problems and expectations of youth that are related to the present socio-political and economic situation. We are [the ZSMP] expecting some concrete decisions, so that the proposals generated by the discussion about youth are not relegated to second place. The ZSMP is tied ideologically to the party and the party should trust the activists of the Union. We [the ZSMP] want to be independent, yet not isolated - stated the speaker, while giving many examples of the initiatives of the Union that found no support, especially from the administration. Mieczyslaw Bednarczyk, the First Secretary of the Factory Committee of PZPR in the foundry "Stalowa Huta", spoke about the failures in the process of bringing up the young generation. Boleslaw Niemczyn, member of the Executive of KW PZPR called attention to the need for utilizing the energy and enthusiasm of youth. Restoring the belief of youth in the possibility of realizing their life plans and aspirations is a prerequisite for that goal. In the opinion of the speaker, more attention should be given to the so called difficult youth.

Stanislaw Gabrielski, the chief of the Socio-Vocational Section of the Central Committee, took the floor last. The speaker characterized the sources of the crisis which has been manifested, among other things, in the state of frustration of the young generation. This state is the result of awakening aspirations which had no backing in reality. Ideological and educational work were also neglected in the past period. Similarly, conclusions about generation changes that took place in the last decade were not fully drawn. The rising generation has entered the productive age well educated and intellectually awakened. The extrication from the crisis and the fight for the awareness of the young generation must be expected to consume many years. The activities in this sphere ought to be preceded by an honest analysis of the origins of the present situation. Delineation of the vision for the future, as outlined in the program for broad reforms in the resolution of the IX Congress of the PZPR, has significant importance in the process of restoring the young belief in the need to act and actively participate in the social life. That program should become a platform for the transformation of the wave of criticisms into creative intellectual movement and into constructive movement of the initiative. The party must support activities arising from the rank and file thus creating conditions for organizational work based upon grass roots. Conditions for social advancement should be created for the young, thus developing their feeling of responsibility for the future fate of the country. The speaker also stressed the necessity for changes in the system of education. Speaking about the situation in the youth movement, Stanislaw Gabrielski particularly emphasized the necessity for creating conditions of fuller autonomy for organizations which strength results from their ideological union with the party. He expressed his approbation for the activists of the ZSMP, ZHP, and ZW for their stance in the political struggle for the awareness of the young generation. Seven participants in the discussion submitted their presentations for the minutes of the deliberations.

Regarding the activities of the party organizations and echelons, the plenum approved a resolution aimed at the socialist, patriotic upbringing of youth and the improvement in the conditions of their vocational and life starts. Described in the resolution are the tasks of the party echelons and organizations for the improvement of the work and life conditions of youth, as well as the tasks for the youth organizations and the youth themselves. In addition the plenum has committed the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee to see to it, among other things, that all just motions derived from the consultation of the materials submitted, and from the discussion, be put into practice, and that the proposers of the motions be informed of the methods of their implementation, and finally that a timetable for the realization of the resolution be established.

Organizational issues were considered in the next item of the agenda: establishing a commission for the women's affairs at the KW PZPR, the removal of Janusz Bendkowski from the composition of the KW, related to his work transfer to another province, and the selection of the organizational secretary of the Province Committee. Comrade Janusz Basiak, on behalf of the Executive Board, recommended Stanislaw Pawlik, the past director of the State Center of Agricultural Machines, and the ex-chairman of the Voivodship Audit Commission, to serve in that function. No other candidates were nominated. The plenum with four abstentions, opted for an open vote for the position of the Secretary of the Provincial Committee, and then unanimously entrusted that function to Stanislaw Pawlik.

ACADEMICS DISCUSS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROSPECTS FOR 1980's

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[Discussion participated in by Prof Dr Habilitatus Michal Dobroczynski, editor-in-chief of SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE; Dr Franciszek Golembiski, director of the Department of Socialist Countries, PISM (Polish Institute for International Affairs), Dr Habilitatus Marek Okolski, Docent, Faculty of Economic Sciences, UW [Warsaw University], Docent Dr Habilitatus Bogumil Rychlowski, deputy director of PISM, Dr Janusz Stefanowicz, journalist and Dr Jerzy W. Szeremeta, counselor to the minister in the studies and Programming Department of MSZ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs); Article Signed to Press December 1981]

[Text] Michal Dobroczynski: Thus far, none of the longterm political and economic forecasts of which we are aware have proved entirely true. However, each of the forecasts contains at least two positive elements. First, some points have hit the mark; second, certain dangers and threats stated in the forecasts have become the basis of practical actions taken to ensure that the theoretical dangers anticipated beforehand do not come to pass. In other words, a good forecast has not proved true possibly because it was rational and led to effective counteraction.

I propose that we speak, first of all, of the political aspects of the world's future tied into the international situation, especially the situation in the sphere of political relations among the more important countries and fundamental groups of states. This is linked in particular with aspects of armaments and disarmament issues; however, it is not restricted to issues of conflicts, clashes and glaring antagonisms. This would be the first group of subjects for discussion. In my opinion it is a group of issues that lends itself well to discussion, if a group that is quite unpredictable.

The second direction to consider is that of economics issues: How will the developmental processes of the world economy shape up in the 1980's--what may we expect? The issues here are the trade situation, the power, raw materials and food situation and the problems of cooperation between countries of the world, in particular cooperation between the East and West and North-South relations.

The final part of the discussion should tend in the direction of evaluating the hoped-for evolvement of social relations: In what direction will the

world develop? Will it move more to the right, or in the direction of various types of socialistic solutions? Will social pressure or better organized and informed societies mean that pure economic rationalism will have to yield to social compulsion in various sectors? This problem is partly of an ideological nature, despite its practical importance.

I propose that these be the three major directions of our discussion. It is difficult to isolate them. Most likely, our discussion of the first point, the subject of security and political relations, will find us broaching the other subjects.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: In the 1980's, East-West relations will undoubtedly continue to be a major element of political relations, especially where world security is concerned. This truth was sometimes questioned in the 1970's, especially when the growing importance of North-South relations was indicated. Nonetheless, in questions of security, peace and war, the character and state of East-West relations will be of decisive significance for the current decade. I am convinced of that.

At the same time we must realize that a certain crucial element of these relations, namely the entire arms and disarmament issue, does not fill one with optimism. The armaments programs that have been undertaken and our knowledge of the time needed to negotiate disarmament understandings indicate that what we would call the consolidation of military detente will not be achieved before the mid-1980's, and perhaps not before the end of the decade. In conjunction with this--let us be logically consistent--the strengthening of military detente could not be considered as a factor of political detente. This raises a number of questions.

First, does this mean the death of political detente? I would like to be optimistic and say that it does not. But in order to say this, I must first answer the following two questions: Does this mean that we must search for elements in support of political detente in other fields? Without a doubt, the optimistic answer to this question is yes. The second question: Is this possible? I think it is, although it is very difficult. The whole time we are faced here with an alternative situation, somewhat forced upon us, in which we cannot achieve substantial military detente and attempt to build political detente on this base, but we must occupy ourselves with a dogged search for elements supportive of political detente in other fields.

This situation will carry over into the 1980's. Due to the fact that the danger in the military sphere may increase, the intensity of our search for alternative solutions must likewise increase. This will be a very difficult task.

Franciszek Golembski: I concur with this line of thinking. At the same time I should like to emphasize that I perceive great difficulties in the 1980's in the very possibility of finding a modus vivendi in political affairs. For they are determined directly and indirectly by the military sphere. To a great extent, the behavior of states on the political plane is the decisive factor here. This influences the creation of political structures linked with

international security or the lack thereof. For this reason, we cannot treat political factors as autonomous, divorced from the development of events and creating qualitatively new structures in international relations. However, the political factor itself, in a specific way, will determine the rate of change on the international arena during the 1980's. By no means will this rate diminish: it will proceed even more rapidly.

Bogumil Rychlowski: It seems to me that the future should not be measured in terms of past experiences. The present is the point of departure for the future. In order to find our points of reference for the future, we must explain the tendencies manifested in the present day.

There is no military detente. The tendency toward it is not evident. What's more, we may say that at the present time the world faces the implementation of a gigantic arms program imposed by the previous American administration and expanded by the Reagan administration. The new administration has not withdrawn any of the former plans; on the contrary, it gives priority treatment to armaments plans, treating the working out of positions on disarmament issues as secondary. Given this situation, we cannot expect the major oppositional force of the United States, the Soviet Union, to abandon what it achieved during the previous decade, namely the balancing of power. For this reason I think that in the 1980's, at least during the first half of the 1980's, if the big package of disarmament proposals presented by the Soviet Union at the 26th CPSU Congress is not adopted, the armaments actions undertaken by one side will force the other side to undertake the challenge.

I envisage that, in the first half of the 1980's, as long as the arms programs already set in motion are implemented, no more significant disarmament settlements will be reached. Even if decisions that are positive in part are undertaken, generally speaking we will still have to deal with the implementation of a stepped-up armaments program. The future fate of the SALT talks will be of vital importance in this regard. The future of these talks is not merely a question of Soviet-American relations, but a problem of worldwide significance. Although the success of the SALT talks has been limited, their breakdown would have catastrophic consequences.

Indeed, from the viewpoint of our deliberations today, the most important issue is to find an answer to the basic question: Will the currently existing balance of power be maintained through the 1980's, or will it be shaken or totally disrupted as a result of the unequal buildup of economic-military potential. Political relations in the entire contemporary world will rest on this.

The balance of power was a factor aiding detente during the previous stage. It can likewise play such a role in the future.

I believe that the military-strategic balance between the USSR and the United States will be maintained during the 1980's. At the same time, their great superiority over other partners of military relations will continue. Hence, during the 1980's, the bipolar system (which is not to be identified with the division of the world into two camps) will continue. Given this situation,

the system of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and, more broadly, between the East and West, will continue to be a system determining the development of the situation on a worldwide scale.

As we stress the crucial importance of this system, we cannot help seeing that during the present stage the influence of other forces and factors on the world situation is growing and will continue to grow. One proof of this is the processer taking place in the "third world."

Janusz Stefanowicz: The element of will, that is, a particular vision of the interests and hence the foreign policy of the United States, manifested continuously since the end of World War II, and especially intensely at the threshold of the Reagan administration, is of crucial importance to the tension of the armaments spiral. However, in addition to the subjective element of political will, there are also several other elements that bolster the thesis of continuing the arms race. I should like to point out several of these.

First, the constant increase in military potential other than American and Soviet military potential, i.e., Chinese and West German potential, as well as that of other states of Western Europe in the future, increases the negative imbalance of the threat with regard to the Soviet Union. Increasingly, the USSR must take into account several potential directions or sources of danger, while the United States has only the Soviets to consider. This asymmetry complicates the establishment of a balance and of a level and point of departure for negotiations on the issue of arms control. An example is the European theater, where the West consciously plays out the argument of the balance of strategic power, only ostensibly unaware of other Soviet considerations. This situation will intensify.

Franciszek Golembiski: What will be the direct consequences for the political situation in Europe?

Janusz Stefanowicz: As far as the military situation is concerned, it will be very difficult to reach a common denominator, unless the United States and the Soviet Union come to an understanding on the comprehensive limitation of armaments, that is, they determine the total ceiling for their own armaments, giving their partners the freedom to distribute this potential throughout the worldwide and the European theater. This is an optimistic variant, but one very difficult to carry out.

I return to the main subject of the discussion. A second element of danger likewise exists. In modern times, world powers do not evaluate their military situation in terms of the quantity or the quality of the weapons they possess, but in their susceptibility to a first strike. This is a more complex issue, i.e., the issue of mobile and stationary bases, the number and the return capability of warheads, the height and load of missile flight and radar detection.

The third reason that the arms race will develop is the reiterated "generation gap" in arms technology, where new defensive weapons are being sought in order

to limit the effectiveness of the existing enemy potential and of new offensive weapons, which anticipate the creation of enemy defensive systems.

How does this affect policy? Apart from the problems encountered in finding a balance of power, I envisage yet another negative effect of this state of the arms race on political relations. International detente during the 1970's was based on the breakdown of the so-called strict bipolarism of the modern world and the opening of the road to pluralism. For example, Europe is autonomous and particular states do not have to be the executors of the decisions of the superpowers. The policy of de Gaulle was a prime example of this.

I believe that the quality, the quantity and the costs of the arms race in the 1980's will exclude all remaining countries, even countries like China, from significant participation in the world game of military power. We shall return, as before, to the bipolar system of the 1960's. For countries such as Poland, France and the FRG this may have unfortunate consequences in the political field, since the practical consequence of military bipolarism is political bipolarism: every superpower places its allies in a line, believing that it must ensure itself 95 percent of the decisions made in political matters.

I do not foresee a return to cold war in the literal sense. I do fear a return of the structure of international relations from the cold war period. I fear it all the more since, overlaying armament tendencies, there is the bipolar conservatism of the ruling groups in the superpowers, which are naturally inclined to accept such a structure.

Michal Dobroczynski: Here we have entered a new thematic plane. From what editor Stefanowicz and, in some sense, the other discussants have said it follows that ultimately the element of armaments determines relations between countries and the political situation that exists between the East and West in particular. The arms race, in turn, is dictated to a great degree by the growing lack of confidence resulting from the development of technology and from fears in the face of the changeability of the power structure. It is evident that this technological-strategic factor is, for the present, stronger than active diplomatic efforts aimed at increasing confidence in mutual relations. In other words, perhaps good will, the will to improve relations, will continue, but will the sudden attainment of clear technological superiority cause an about-face in foreign policy?

Marek Okolski: I would like to add a brief comment on this issue. The technological factor may be considered crucial only when it is perceived that fundamentally it, in turn, depends on the economic potential and the effective functioning of socioeconomic systems, upon their capacity to devote a portion of current consumption toward scientific research in the military complex and directly for armaments, as well as to generate new technologies. I would put the issue this way: given the current, extremely high level of military technology, the other partners in the great strategic-political game are falling away since they are not able to meet both conditions for participating in this game--the necessary economic potential and an efficiently functioning socioeconomic system. Consequently, the vital element of mediation, of the

pluralization of conflicts between the major powers and their being restrained by diplomatic means, subsides. Meanwhile, this leads to the present situation you gentlemen have described.

Franciszek Golembski: I would like to turn your attention to a related question that is manifested in the modern world in political categories and is especially in evidence in social categories. It has been spoken of more and more upon the threshold of the 1980's. I am speaking of the so-called communications crisis, its social dimension and the resultant consequences for international life. The partners in contemporary international relations, while making use of the same language (in the general linguistic sense, not on the basis of national differences), have different connotations for this language. This is demonstrated especially vividly during various types of international conferences and meetings. Specific statements are comprehended differently.

This refers not only to East-West relations (during the 1970's, various attempts were made to gain control of this crisis within the framework of the detente process). To a much greater extent, it refers to the plane of North-South relations, where the communications crisis will undoubtedly become more intense during the 1980's.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: Since, as a result of what we have been saying, things look very black, I will attempt to shine a light in the tunnel. All of this is true, and it will have, if not decisive, then a very great influence on the picture of the world in the 1980's. But fortunately it is not only these things that will shape the world, for neither the great powers nor any one state is actualized only by means of the issue of security--the very important political sphere we have been speaking of thus far.

If there were no other needs emanating from the existence of a state, of a nation, the picture of the future would approach the one we have described. However, if the 1980's continue considerable challenges in many other fields, above all in the economic sphere, we can be somewhat optimistic about the possibility of controlling dangerous political-military tendencies through the joint realization of the other weighty interests that particular states must secure. This requires full blown international cooperation, sometimes with a global scope.

Here I would like to call to mind two questions that can unite the world: the energy problem and the food problem. It has been estimated that human energy needs will increase by 20 percent by the end of the 1980's, and the needs of some population centers will grow still more. This refers to the United States and above all Western Europe and Japan. It is estimated that energy needs there will increase by approximately 70 percent. Among other things, this makes necessary the expansion of capital links, and thereby the development of international cooperation and the creation of political relations to facilitate this cooperation.

I would like to draw this optimistic conclusion from the pressure that will be brought to bear by the energy question on the policy of all states during the 1980's.

Janusz Stefanowicz: But first there will be the intermediate stage characterized by increased competition for this wealth, for access to power sources.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: This kind of critical need always prompts a large number of fairly simplistic solutions. Economic issues will constitute a plane of animated international relations, but in the final analysis the tendency toward cooperation will win out over a confrontation, for purely practical reasons--because it is a more profitable way out.

Bogumil Rychlowski: This presumes behavioral rationalism in political actions. Meanwhile, experience shows that the resolution of international problems is not always consistent with the principles of rational action. The basis of politics is self-interest. Politics often consists of operating by force and is motivated by particularist rights rather than more general rights.

To return to the main topic, I concur with Editor Stefanowicz that at present there is a growing tendency in the world toward the polarization of power, and not to the creation of many power centers, which would be as if a sign of detente, and which was spoken of a great deal, especially during the mid-1970's. As we observe the situation, we see that, regardless of the asymmetry described here, in spite of everything, the tendency toward the polarization of the modern world is the decisive one. It will dominate and intensify, at least during the stage of the implementation of those armaments programs that have already been set in motion. It is difficult to anticipate that will follow. Most likely, tendencies toward the creation of many power centers will again manifest themselves more clearly.

Polarization is most evident on the global scale, i.e., if we look at the world as a whole, and it reflects the most general trend. If we look at the world more selectively, then alongside a general tendency toward polarization, we observe phenomena indicating that the world is also becoming more differentiated politically. In many concrete situations and events, a major causative role is played by specific causes or circumstances that have no reference to a bipolar system. They are an expression of antagonisms that are as if independent of the antagonisms between the two basic worldwide systems.

Here we can make reference to the example of the Iraq-Iran War that has lasted for many months. I do not think we can say that this war is the result of polarization, i.e., the system of relations between the East and West or between the Soviet Union and the United States. It is the result of an extremely complex mix of local antagonisms: national, religious, of territorial disputes and even of the personal ambitions of the respective leaders.

Thus, in addition to the general tendency toward polarization that dominates in the global structure, at the same time there are processes at work that make the world, in spite of everything, more differentiated and complex. What's more, even within the framework of this bipolar structure, which is a general structure linked above all with the systems of alliances surrounding the United States and the Soviet Union, there is an increasingly more marked tendency toward the differentiation of situations and internal relations. This occurs independently of the concern manifested in both systems over the cohesiveness and content of existing ties.

Hence, documents from the 26th CPSU Congress point to the differentiation in the roads of development that occur within the socialist world. Emphasizing the importance of conformity with mutual developmental regulations, at the same time the 26th CPSU Congress indicates that this development cannot take place in a uniform manner. In conjunction with the variety of situations manifested by particular states, various methods, various solutions and various directions of activity are used. Not only does the CPSU analyze the diversity that occurs, it endorses it. The same phenomenon occurs around the other pole, among capitalist countries. Here the diversity is even greater, more widespread and has a greater scope.

Consequently, the tendency toward bipolarization spoken of by Editor Stefan Stefanowicz is linked to the tendency toward the sharper and sharper differentiation of the modern world. This means that the problems we will encounter during the 1980's will be of a somewhat different character than the problems with which we have dealt in the past.

Marek Okolski: I believe that as a condition for making a forecast of international political relations, we should take into consideration not only political factors, but also other factors that alter political relations and sometimes determine their longterm development.

From what you gentlemen have said it follows that one can use simple reasoning on the basis of the political premises manifested. In the first place, since the East-West axis determines the current worldwide political structure and second, since recently there has been a regress in the detente process, we may conclude that the immediate period, the first half of the 1980's, will shape up unfavorably.

This diagnosis follows exclusively from reasoning based on political premises. The worldwide political factor is relatively the most flexible and is less inert over the short-term than, e.g., the cultural and the economic factors. Since it evolves relatively more rapidly and only apparently autonomously, the political factor serves to alter worldwide relations in other spheres over the long term. Meanwhile, I believe that these conditions further changes in the worldwide political situation. Thus, if we take into account premises of another type, i.e., social, economic and cultural premises, as well as premises connected with the internal dialectic of world development, or even the development of political relations themselves (here I have in mind the antagonism that exists within particular groupings as well as between grouping), this--in my opinion--enables us to draw a forecast that extends somewhat further into the future and likewise to justify why we anticipate certain changes in the sphere of international political relations and not others.

As I look further into the future, my view differs from the views you gentlemen present. I am not an optimist because extrapolitical premises, especially economic arguments, suggest rather that the regress will become more intense. From what does this follow?

Progressive tendencies occur when pluralism and the tendency toward globalization toward mutual imitation in certain processes exists in international

relations. Diversity, with its characteristic tendency toward preserving one's own identity, while at the same time being open to the outside and desiring cooperation, engenders progressive changes out of such contradictory tendencies. Meanwhile, the dichotomies of the antagonistic East-West and North-South structures still remain from the only recently emerged pluralism. In addition to this, internal pressures have appeared to make them stiffen and become isolated from the outside world. Given this situation, what we will probably have to deal with in terms of economic premises will rather be a regress, particularism and the turning inward of particular states or their groupings.

This emanates primarily from the fact that the two basic superpowers have quite longstanding domestic problems, that are perhaps even structural problems. There are clear conservative currents in evidence both in the Soviet Union and in the United States, especially within the sphere of the superstructure, although their foundation is economic in character to a considerable degree. This does not foster a commitment toward resolving external questions whose probable benefits are for some future time. Generally, this leads to bilateral stiffening, and even to preventive measures that worsen the status quo. A second reason for an unfavorable forecast is the worsened trade situation, mainly in the region that is the driving force of the worldwide economy, the highly industrialized capitalist countries, and the lack of signs of the radical and speedy breaking of the impasse in this field. Third, given their privileged position, the highly industrialized capitalist countries will want to minimize their losses or to reap the greatest benefits in the struggle over principles, for the problem of a shortage of power and raw materials really does exist in the current decade. Meanwhile, this will cause an increase of tension along the North-South axis.

Only when conditions favoring a basic technological revolution appear will it be possible, in accordance with Kondratev's concept of long waves, to expect a fundamental technological change that will bring vast new reserves of raw materials, will intensify food production and will change fundamentally the current protectionist and particularist attitude. However, I do not believe that this is to be expected earlier than the end of the current decade or the beginning of the next decade.

Thus, it follows from the premises we are considering that there is an enduring tendency toward particularism in international relations. As a consequence of this tendency, the movement of unaligned countries has practically disintegrated. In light of this, in the very near future there will occur bipolarism at best and multipolarism at worst surrounding these two poles.

Michal Dobroczynski: Very strong arguments for bipolarism exist. They include above all the military factor and in some sense the economic factor that stands behind the military factor as well. For there is no country or even group of countries that can afford the kind of production of military resources that the largest countries can afford, despite many negative social consequences. It is this that caused the bipolarism.

On the other hand, we must realize that bipolarism is in some sense a strategic situation that is convenient for a considerable number of states of the world.

This means: countries are interested in their own security and, well aware of the limits of their own economic potential, they fall into line somewhat to the rear, just as the infantry falls into line behind the tanks. This in no way changes the simple fact that every country has its own special interests as goals and devotes a portion of its ambitions to being independent on the basis of realistic calculations.

In other words, it must be kept in mind that there are certain (sometimes vital) differences between a vast and quite simple strategic system, and a rich system of individualized needs, aspirations and national traits underlying the division into two groupings.

At the same time, there is no question of a return to the situation at the end of the 1940's or the beginning of the 1950's. At that time there was bipolarism, but it was nearly total. At present, and surely throughout the entire new decade, bipolarism has and will have a logical, rational character from the viewpoint of certain premises. However, as Docent Rychlowski observed, it is bipolarism linked with the growing complexity of internal structures and the substantial differentiation of sector interests.

This differentiation has many aspects. It is not only a problem of smaller countries adapting in different ways to the superpowers. It is likewise a question of the implementation of national concepts and internal solutions, of a distinct relationship to the leading power in one's own camp, but also of specific characteristics of policy regarding particular countries on the other side. This is often of vital general significance. If not for the situation and the policies of certain countries of Western Europe, the relationship of the United States to the Soviet Union would certainly be different today. Various conflicts between the United States and the countries of Western Europe have even arisen on this basis. Another example: were it not for the effect of demonstrations in the sphere of social organization, food consumption, cultural needs and the like, certain opinions advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress, although they applauded the Hungarian model of economic solutions, would seem premature. In the area of the mutual influence of various countries--both friendly nations and others--the 1980's will not usher in revolution, but they may be a further step in the direction of the partial coalescence of positions.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: Obviously the difficulties the future will bring, especially in the economic sphere, will increase the tendency toward egoism and localism. However, we would be wrong if we deduced from this that these egoistically disposed local centers of interest will be self-sufficient. This is not so.

The course of the discussion thus far proves to me that our picture of the world has become so complex of late that we have forgotten, e.g., about the idea of mutual interdependence, strongly promoted during the 1970's, which has taken on a new aspect under the influence of certain tendencies, although it has not disappeared.

Regarding access to power sources, even if some states initially attempt to solve this problem by means of force, they will not have a free hand in such

action and they must take into account the fact that their opponents will be able to hinder their actions quite effectively.

Moreover, let us remember that there are many other spheres in which these various, egoistically disposed centers will not be able to implement their egoistic goals except through cooperation. If, by cooperation, we do not wish to understand harmonious joint action, then at least let us understand it as the necessary ties. Let us take the food issue. In all likelihood, by the end of this century, the price of food products will at least double. World hunger will reach 1.5 billion. This creates a colossal problem that cannot be resolved other than through international cooperation.

The monopoly of the United States on supplying food for the world market will strengthen; the position of developing countries will strengthen, but the position of socialist states as food consumers on this market will likewise strengthen. The single problem discussed above (and there are others) demonstrates that underneath the bipolar political-military cap, relatively well developed ties will have to exist.

I am so stubborn in my return to this subject because for me it is the only "light in the tunnel" during the 1980's.

Marek Okolski: This line of reasoning reveals the source of a dangerous conflict, and not the improvement of the situation. For we may conclude from this that the existing worldwide structure of the division of labor, that is very clearly disadvantageous for certain regions (in the North-South system it is distinctly negative for the South), will be strengthened. If this is so, then on the basis of national particularisms, there will develop a very strong tendency to break down the existing system not economically, but politically. Such inevitabilities exist, but they are of such a nature that they will engender serious new political conflicts.

Bogumil Rychlowski: I agree with Dr Szeremeta, that in the modern world many so-called global problems exist that can be solved only through broad international cooperation. In addition to finding solutions to the fuel, raw materials and food problems, I would likewise include the need to solve problems associated with the restructuring of international relations, and especially the problem of preserving world peace. The category of global problems also includes problems of managing outer space and the world oceans. Experience demonstrates that the very approach to the solution of these problems depends upon the political situation, upon the general state of international relations.

Recently, the new American administration announced that it wishes to reassess the heretofore established proposals of the Conference on the Law of the Sea. That is, it wished to address this issue in a manner different from the previous administration. This is the best proof of the fact that a political approach is of crucial significance. It is for this reason that I maintain that the resolution of all so-called global problems will be contingent upon the general political situation in the contemporary world.

In conjunction with this, I would like to return once again to generalia. We have all agreed here that the bipolar system will remain the dominant system, at least during the first part of the 1980's. Nonetheless, the major poles of this system will have to reconcile themselves to the existence of a world that is more differentiated and more difficult to lead. They will also have to reconcile themselves to situations on which they will have no effect.

Here I would like to depart from such a generalized view. Let us not forget that China will be a vital element in the world situation of the 1980's. I do not mean only China per se, but China in its relations with other partners. Everyone knows that a very complex game is now being played out in the Washington-Tokyo-Peking triangle. In general, the stakes are China on a still broader scale. Depending on what system the China finds itself in during the 1980's (and this is a country with a billion people that manages tremendous resources of various types), this will affect the direction of development of events not only on a regional scale, but on a worldwide scale. I am interested to know what Dr. Szeremeta thinks on the subject of the possibilities of partnership or broad cooperation between China and Japan, and between China, Japan and the United States. Let us not view the world's future from a Europe-centered viewpoint alone.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: I would like to support this thesis. We make use of the idea of the so-called Atlantic era too often. In the not too distant future, the centers of gravity, and not merely political gravity, will begin to be situated in various regions of the world, and the 1980's will, in some sense, be the beginning of the Pacific era. This is the result of the globalization of world problems and the changes that are occurring in this region.

Janusz Stefanowicz: And do you support Walesa's thesis that Poland can become a second Japan?

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: Yes, without a doubt, but that is a completely different question.

Bogumil Rychlowski: Asia is not only China and Japan. The whole of modern Asia is a mix of strong clashes that can become a source of threatening new conflicts or wars that extend beyond the local framework in the 1980's. The development of the situation in this region can overturn the ideas and forecasts that we formulate here at this table from our traditionally Atlantic point of reference.

Marek Okolski: As Editor Dobroczynski stated, one reason for making forecasts is to put us on our guard.

Michal Dobroczynski: I agree with the direction of the forecasts, but I believe that the 1980's will not bring any fundamental changes.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: I was speaking of the beginning of an era.

Janusz Stefanowicz: The discussion is as if taking issue with my initial thesis. So that the reader does not have the impression that all this is

canned or embedded in concrete, I would like to present a second line of reasoning.

To continue then, I shall enumerate several very essential factors checking the process of bipolarization, or rather its return, on the international scene.

The first check lies in the military sphere. The increased risk linked with the growth of potential of each side makes this bipolarism very intense, but at the same time of little use in daily politics and diplomacy. To use a metaphor, it is an armored ship with minimal maneuverability, standing at anchor. It must stand in the port, threaten and impress everyone. But at the decisive moment it will set off a blind rocket, like the Aurora.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: In this situation, the particular technological revolution in the area of conventional arms, especially precision arms, can lead to the creation of many centers.

Janusz Stefanowicz: This is the other side of the coin: a large armored ship and small, active, "irresponsible" gunboats.

The second limiting factor is of a political character. Gentlemen, you have spoken of an obvious phenomenon, i.e., the increased subjectivity of the smaller states both of the Eastern and Western blocs. There is no chance today that Washington will decide whether the deputy premier in Paris will be X or Y--and not only in Paris. Here I would call to mind the "third world" as well. There are people who view bipolarism negatively, seeing it exclusively as synonymous with armaments, tensions and the cold war. But there are also those who say: fine, let us return to our former state of joyous coexistential bipolarism symbolized by Yalta, or an order based on the understanding of the two groups. But this too is impossible. A diametrical difference exists between the Europe in ashes of those years, when a custodial-type decision was made at Yalta, and the hot lava of the "third world." There is no question today of Yalta on the worldwide scale, even if we wished it for ourselves, even if we believed that it would bring peace to our era. It is out of the question.

The third check consists of certain natural economic interdependencies, which, even if not desired, occur in a manner that is essential for the sector.

The fourth check, for me the most interesting one, is of a sociopolitical nature. One must adopt a Manichean view of the world: there is good in the form of freedom and evil in the form of communism, or vice versa. Between these poles there is nothing. This is how the conservatives, the extreme European right and conservative communist actives in a number of countries reason today. Meanwhile, this is not the reality. Here I would like to express an optimistic opinion, one that is also flattering to Poland. Depending on the ultimate outcome, what is now happening in Poland may determine a trend either toward bipolarism or toward pluralism on a worldwide scale, not on an economic, a political or a military plane, but on an ideological, global plane of vision of the world's future. This is terribly important. In this regard we bear a worldwide burden.

It is known that we will remain within the Warsaw Pact, that we will not create our own nuclear weapons and that we will participate in CEMA. On the other hand, we can inform all conservative forces that the black-and-white world view, the communism-freedom view (or the reverse) is an anachronism that does not fit either today's or tomorrow's world.

Bogumil Rychlowski: What is happening in Poland may be capsulized in the following form: the expansion of our own collective state personality within the framework of the preservation of our systemic identity. This is how it is to be understood.

Janusz Stefanowicz: I agree.

Franciszek Golembksi: I agree entirely with Editor Stefanowicz that a return to a bipolar epoch in the strict sense of the word has no meaning, nor is it possible. This follows from the methodological approach as well. One cannot simply extrapolate, transferring current happenings within society mechanically into the future. This method makes it impossible to grant the future a real dimension. History does not repeat itself. There is no returning to certain events that have already happened and that have ended in a certain sense.

I would like to turn to still another matter not spoken of thus far. During the 1970's the concepts of bipolarism and multipolarism were also used to express the idea that the primary actors, the great powers, continued to be the principal regulators of global relations, but at the same time the role of other states and their aspirations toward greater esteem in the international arena clearly began to increase (I am not speaking here of the PRC alone). The following problem derives from this: As a result of the continuing process of gaining independence on the part of particular states, including some developing countries, is there not an increasing danger that some of these states will have their own nuclear weapons in the next 5 to 10 years?

Janusz Stefanowicz: This is like giving 19th century black chieftains guns and then thinking that they will attack the garrisons of the colonial powers.

Franciszek Golembksi: But will not the eruption of regional conflicts have a negative significance for the stability of the global structure?

Michal Dobroczynski: I agree that it will have a negative effect. But will it destroy this structure? Can this type of factor affect the basic direction?

Bogumil Rychlowski: Rather it will have local and prestige-wise significance.

Michal Dobroczynski: However, it can have a negative effect on the essence of relations between the great powers.

Franciszek Golembksi: If we utilize Dr Szeremeta's concept of "necessary ties" we have reason to be optimistic; a modus vivendi must be found in the sense of finding solutions to common problems, and this pressure of needs will have direct repercussions within the global structure. However, my question is: If these necessary ties turn out to be insufficient, what then?

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: Collapse.

Michał Dobroczynski: Perhaps we should say a few words about issues we have bypassed.

First, a question: Will the 1980's be an epoch of clearcut economic breakdown on a worldwide scale, or a period of relative growth, or in any event an improvement over the situation in the 1970's, or finally (I believe this last alternative to be the most likely one at this time) will it be a decade that continues the trend begun after 1970? If we support the variant of generally slow growth, we must assume structural differences. To be sure, the 1980's will be a period when countries generally will develop at a rate corresponding to their level of advancement: the least developed will grow the fastest, the most developed will grow the slowest and the moderately developed will show moderate growth.

Thus the 1980's, for all three basic groups, will continue the process that was characteristic for the entire postwar period, i.e., the process of an increase in the absolute differences between the three groups and a reduction in the relative differences between these groups. This cannot but have repercussions of a political nature. If we have concluded that technological issues to a great degree lie at the bases of the arms race, and the arms race is the major problem complicating the possibilities of the rapprochement of the great powers, then to some degree the anticipated trends of economic growth will determine the character and the consequences of the arms race and of worldwide political relations.

An analysis of the anticipated changes must be tied in with the social situation of the contemporary world. This must be as clear sighted as possible. The evolution of this situation is not clear, and there are a great many opinions on the subject of world social changes. I represent the optimistic position, that is, I believe that the world is becoming more just. Whatever has been happening for several decades now for the most part means that the world is shifting in the direction of the growing regard for the rights of the broadest social groups.

Janusz Stefanowica: This refers to the socialist world as well.

Michał Dobroczynski: Yes, I agree. Governments, policy directions and social emphases are changing. Within this complex movement, we should not underestimate neoliberal tendencies that favor productivity over justice. But even what is happening in the policy of Great Britain or the United States is, in fact, only a reaction to a shift toward the left. It is a reaction with clear-cut limits that cannot ignore social needs and attitudes.

Here is another example. An in-depth look shows that the events that have taken place in Poland after 1979 are nothing more than the shift of the country to the left, and not at all to the right. Perhaps certain pseudoleftist signs are being discarded, but all in all we observe a clear pressure in the direction of democratization and economic-social egalitarianism.

I believe that this phenomenon--apart from the shifts in various directions in the superstructure--apart from the very complex movements in the political sphere that are sometimes hard to evaluate from the viewpoint of social consequences--will likewise be characteristic of the world throughout the 1980's. This is not the result of programs or a personality (although programs and personalities can speed up or slow down change). On the other hand, it is a general process associated with the coming to maturity of nations, with the flow of information, with economic progress, an increase in the level of education and access to culture. People now react differently to many issues; they have access to different knowledge and they desire other things than they did formerly. They do not allow themselves to be manipulated so easily as before, even in less developed regions.

The 1980's will not bring about any fundamental reversal of this process, but undoubtedly will continue the basic trend, rarely written of, that in public opinion, in confrontation with a thousand daily events and striking incidents moves into the background, but that inevitably creates new social qualities, new societies.

Marek Okolski: I would like to react to this problem against the background of the longwave trend in the development of the world economy. More or less since the end of the 19th century there has existed a tendency toward permanently including particular societies in the division of labor. The permanency of the ties between them has become intensified following the development of the contemporary phase of development of the world division of labor (i.e., during the period of the past 10 to 30 years) through the necessity of the mutual solving of problems or resolving dangers of a more than local character (e.g., mutual raw materials and food dependence, and in the extra-economic sphere, the threat of ecological disaster or thermonuclear war). At present a permanent economic link encompasses the entire world, its global character emanating from the high level of responsiveness of all economies to the pulsation of the world economy. Consequently, I would view the development of the world economy through the development of the world division of labor, that is, through the process of distributing specializations among a greater and greater number of organizational units, together with their undertaking of new roles and not consolidating what already is there.

The development of the division of labor was always determined by technological development. It produced a specific, hierarchical partnership system, with a set of economic organizational units or economies creating new technologies, a set of organizational units perfecting and in a certain sense disseminating these technologies among the masses, and a set passively supplying the resources indispensable for the use of these technologies. These poles function until today, although gradually various economies are shifting to higher levels of the division of labor hierarchy.

The contemporary world division of labor does not follow its former lines, i.e., by sector or subsector. Such divisions continue to be particular only to the local scale. At the level of the world economy, specialization to a greater and greater degree is of an inter-subsector nature; in some instances, each pole of the world economy plays a definite role within the framework of a subsector or even a branch. This both strengthens global ties and creates

opportunities for the more rapid adaptation of new production techniques and the adoption of the associated models of organizing and managing economic processes. Consequently, the development of the world economy represents the potential strengthening of developmental processes within the framework of particular national economies.

However, the tendency I have outlined is basically of a secular nature--its course does not run smoothly or with equal intensity in the case of every economic organizational unit. Let us now consider who will achieve the best economic results during the 1980's and whether it is possible to predict the highest growth rate for those who are least developed. Studies of longwave trends in the world economy would uphold this assumption, although, paradoxically, a higher growth rate does not always bring least developed countries closer to the world powers. This is due to a low rate of efficiency, less durability and the poorer quality of manufactured goods. The thesis that lagging economies develop the most rapidly and leading economies developing slowest is admissible to the extent that we do not envisage a crisis. However, if a crisis comes, the economic consequences are the most severe and painful for the weakest partners in the game. A recent example confirming this is the so-called energy crisis following the increase in crude oil prices. In light of this, Prof Dobroczynski's ultimately optimistic assumption concerning the relative, but not the absolute diminishing of gaps in the level of economic development between the two extreme poles of the world economy will not be confirmed if the crisis symptoms from the 1970's do not yield resolutely.

Michal Dobroczynski: And is such a crisis anticipated during the next decade?

Marek Okolski: In the opinion of some research teams, in the 1970's certain domestic goals, especially those of southern countries, were threatened by strong ties with the world economy. For example, economic conditions of international exchange imposed higher costs of development on these countries, making them unable to implement domestic economic goals in full. There is a chance that this situation will improve in the 1980's. It depends upon whether the trade situation in the world economy will improve. The year 1981 is the first year of the cautious sailing forth into deep waters in this field. The further improvement of the situation depends upon the most highly industrialized capitalist countries. If this tendency is strengthened, then on the wave of a generally favorable trade situation and increased economic dynamism there will arise an opportunity for weaker countries to make internal qualitative changes and to move on to a higher level of development.

In answer to the question, will the economic system break down, we must say: this will depend upon whether the permanent foundations of economic prosperity will be created. I said that this depends on the trade situation in highly developed countries. But this does not come about as a *deus ex machina*. I believe that what could bring about an enduring favorable trade situation would be a change in technology, and especially the introduction of power conserving technology that would enable the use of new, plentiful types of energy in order to conserve traditional energy sources. However, I do not believe that the changes that would give the world economy a strong

developmental impulse will come soon. Consequently, it is highly likely that the 1980's will continue the tendencies of the 1970's.

Jerzy W. Szczepeta: I believe that the end of the 20th century will be a period of unusually stormy changes in terms of ideological issues, similar to the end of the 18th and 19th centuries. At this time there is really no group of states that does not feel the need to search for a new systems model within the framework of the binding sociopolitical structure, the need to redefine its identity. In capitalist countries, it is the birth of the epoch of the informed society. This will necessitate the internal redefinition of these societies.

Recently there has been talk (and rightly so) of the big question marks (for me, positive ones) that the events in Poland have set before the communist movement. For a number of years, developing countries have likewise been searching for their own identity. This will undoubtedly become more intense in the 1980's.

All of this will engender two tendencies. First, these searches, based on certain concrete, material premises, will engender the need for greater concentration on internal problems, which may (but do not have to) work temporarily to eliminate mutual aggression. Obviously, things are not so good in this world that only one side of the coin should exist. By the end of this century, the ideas market will develop considerably, the plane of sharp competition in the ideological sphere will arise encompassing both the defense of old traditions and the search for new solutions in all groups of states. This may be translated (would it were not) into the language of ideological conflicts, political conflicts and, as a result, military conflicts. I cannot say which of these tendencies will win out--hopefully not the second one.

Janusz Stefanowicz: I would like to react as an outsider to what you economists have said. Do you not make material growth an absolute? Let me give two extreme examples--Zambia and Poland. Zambia, rich in raw materials, has had a great opportunity for development for several years. And this has happened, as you know. We know even better what has happened with Poland. It is a fact that despite all of the systems errors unsuccessful investments and the like, Poland today has an industrial base that is significantly greater than it was at the end of the 1960's. On the other hand, its position, both as subjectively felt by Polish society and in the estimation of the world, has dropped dramatically.

This same observation may be transferred to the question of trade situation. Operating only on the basis of an increase in cumulative production, material goods and technological progress proves to be a more and more deceptive measure. Systems questions, the method of management, the utilization of goods and the make-up and functioning of social and political relations are playing a greater and greater role in the process of development. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the more grain a country produced, the richer it was. Today, if the Katowice Iron and Steel Works produced twice as much steel as the entire metallurgical industry in Poland in the 1960's, the general consequences would still be negative.

When you gentlemen speak of the somewhat mechanical divergence between under-developed, medium- and highly-developed countries, are you not taking into consideration the purely material factor? Is this not contingent upon psychological and systemic factors?

Michał Dobroczynski: When we speak of economic progress, we must always think of socioeconomic and comprehensive processes. Econometric models cannot function in a void, divorced from social responses.

What sort of world is today's world? It differs in many respects from the world of the past. Thanks to economic and technical progress, we do not view the world from a position far to the rear, but we compare our own nation's situation with that of other societies, in particular those that are more highly developed. In addition, even every developing country has a pocket of the "good life." This agitates the society, forces it to step up activity, to make the indispensable adaptations, to have the indispensable flexibility and to imitate tried and tested models. Society's impatience is becoming unprecedentedly great.

Societies, regardless of the scale of their accomplishments, no longer have abstract goals in view, but extremely clearcut material models. These models are linked with two aspects of the management process: with the quantity and quality of consumption and with the quality of organization.

Franciszek Golemoski: This becomes apparent in the sphere of social awareness.

Janusz Stefanowicz: Is it possible to extrapolate mechanically the more or less uniform development of particular countries? To take Poland as an example, if someone had looked at Poland in 1973 from a purely materialistic viewpoint, he would have extrapolated that its place in 1983 would be that of the most highly developed socialist country.

Marek Okilski: I think that you are ascribing to the economists a far greater trivialization of developmental questions than they are guilty of. Not all economists overlook the qualitative aspects of economic phenomena. As for me, by economic power I understand not total potential, but management efficiency, the capacity to transform the internal structure and development. In terms of economic potential, India is certainly more powerful than Switzerland, but it is not efficient and it has not produced effective developmental mechanisms.

Bogumił Rychłowski: I believe that we should realize (and we all probably do realize) that the aspirations of particular societies of the modern world are very different.

Janusz Stefanowicz: But there is the tendency toward imitation.

Bogumił Rychłowski: I agree. And I think that one is right to emphasize that the basis of satisfaction of every society is the plenitude of material goods. Everyone aspires to achieve this abundance of material goods.

On the other hand, the universal trend toward revising the notion of progress as heretofore understood is puzzling. Recently, the movement linked with the

so-called quality of life has become more and more animated and more and more widespread. This movement, which aspires toward the attainment of a better quality of life, first appeared in the most highly developed countries, but it is beginning to appear in underdeveloped countries, and not only among those classes that already possess an abundance of material goods.

If we look at Iran, for example, did the rebellion that arose there called the Iranian revolution develop within the classes well supplied with an abundance of material goods? No. Has it swept over this population group? No.

Marek Okolski: It is not a question of the quality of life there, but of cultural origins, of identity.

Bogumil Rychlowski: This also enters into the scope of the quality of life. The notion of the quality of life is common to all peoples of the contemporary world, but it is understood differently by different peoples. For the aspiration toward a better quality of life is also manifested in highly developed countries; in the United States it is expressed in the happening or in the implementation of Rousseauian ideas. The aim toward a different quality of life also occurs in Iran, in China, but in various countries its content varies, and it is not always tied in merely with an abundance of material goods.

Franciszek Golembski: It is linked with various conditions emanating from various scales of values.

Michal Dobroczynski: A certain coalescence of values systems takes place by means of mutual observation and partial imitation.

Bogumil Rychlowski: Of course we may assume that for the hundreds of millions of people who are starving, the issue of material goods is of basic significance.

Michal Dobroczynski: This phenomenon may also occur more strongly in other areas. For example, Japanese consumer tendencies are increasing, and there are distinct materialistic aspirations in evidence in the Chinese society.

Janusz Stefanowicz: I would like to make reference to a basic thesis propounded by our host: that the world is shifting to the left. I do not wish to dispute this idea, but I would like to develop this train of thought.

Bogumil Rychlowski: But what is a shift to the left? Does it mean greater egalitarianism, democratization or something else?

Janusz Stefanowicz: It is the friction of two planes, a little like in an automobile clutch. In the sense of objective socioeconomic processes one can agree with this, if by the words "to the left" we understand greater egalitarianism and the more widespread dissemination of basic, and not merely basic goods—not only strictly material goods but also cultural and consciousness-raising goods. This is simply human progress, regardless of its

scientific definition. And this is one target that faces a specific direction, whether we call it progress or a shift to the left.

However, there is a second target that over a fairly long period can reverse directions, causing friction. This is the target of social and political awareness, set in place and manipulated by leaders.

It does not have to be the case that social circles that objectively steer toward the left in their material existence must adopt leftist concepts. On the contrary: it is possible to convince them that their achievements are meager because policy and ideology have become too pregressive, or that the use of conservative methods in economic and foreign policy can better lead to the attainment of egalitarian goals.

Michal Dobroczynski: I spoke of this. The official political direction does not have to be overspread with actual social transformations.

On the other hand, it is becoming more and more difficult everywhere to manipulate public opinion, not to speak of ignoring it. The fortunes of the European dictators--Portuguese, Spanish, Greek and others--are conclusive evidence of this. The 1980's will surely strengthen this tendency.

Janusz Stefanowicz: I believe that this shift in the superstructure to the right is now occurring in major centers of the Western world and is being maintained in major centers of the socialist world. Our August events demonstrate the antithetic movement of both targets. The social element wished to go to the left, but the machinery stops it.

Bogumil Rychlowski: The trend toward greater egalitarianism is not particular to today's world. Humanity has aspired to egalitarianism many times, and then has retreated. It seems to me that present trends are another attempt that likewise will necessitate a certain retreat and verification. I would say that in modern times the Chinese cultural revolution was such an attempt, and the most significant mass attempt.

Janusz Stefanowicz: And then the Iranian revolution.

Bogumil Rychlowski: The aspiration toward egalitarianism, and then the retreat, often following tremendous defeats. Humanity aims toward egalitarianism, and then the retreat, often following tremendous defeats. Humanity aims toward egalitarianism in a zigzag fashion, but it still does not have sufficient conditions to implement this aspiration in the dimension people would hope to implement it.

Janusz Stefanowicz: The example of China is an excellent illustration of my thesis. Mao Tse-tung did this within a tremendously conservative ideological framework. Those who now wish to lead China on the road of modern development are doing it within a framework that is more progressive than Maoism. This is the contrast of two planes of development.

What am I getting at? If we have two global tendencies: the global materialistic tendency and social evolution in the direction of greater

egalitarianism, progress and the conscious tendency, both of decisionmakers and a large part of society, toward conservatism--then what does this friction mean for international relations?

The answer is very simple: stagnation. In spite of all the hot spots, in spite of the situations existing in various parts of the world, the natural tendency of decisionmakers will be to preserve international structures in as static a condition as possible.

Michal Dobroczynski: The process moving in the direction of egalitarianism is likewise a process in the direction of democratization. This means an increase in social control over authority, over decisionmakers. This, in turn, means an increase in international security. For this reason, no aggressive decision that is isolated from social moods, or that is arbitrary or voluntaristic has much of a chance under these conditions. If we look at the history of the 20th century we see that every war and conflict has been the consequence of a lack of democracy. Democracy is contingent upon many socioeconomic conditions, it is true. On the other hand, we know no example of a country with an advanced state of democracy that unleashed a world conflict.

Janusz Stefanowicz: United States neutrality at the beginning of both world wars attests to the expediency of Editor Dobroczynski's thesis.

Michal Dobroczynski: Roosevelt had to exaggerate the losses at Pearl Harbor in order to initiate war. In any event, a fanatical group that is not subject to broad social control can engage in conflict considerably more easily. This is one reason that I am of the opinion that the 1980's, will not be a decade of extreme dangers, regardless of any sort of threats associated with the issues of social transformations, armaments, developmental inequalities, an average or an unfavorable trade situation, a food shortage or other sources of tension. This decade should not see a conflict that would embroil the world, shattering civilization's accomplishments. There will be problems, but the developed societies of the East and West will not lose control over events. And the world will again gain experience, wisdom and clairvoyance. New elements of the sought-after mechanism for relieving political, economic and social tensions will appear. However, some sources of frustration will undoubtedly increase.

8536  
CSO: 2600/546

POLAND

BRIEFS

'RADIO SOLIDARITY'S' FOURTH BROADCAST--Warsaw, 9 May (AFP)--The fourth broadcast of the pirate station Radio Solidarity was picked up for about one minute tonight by foreign press agencies based in central Warsaw. A woman announcer called for a 15-minute strike for 13 May and asked listeners to stop whatever they would be doing at noon on that day and remain motionless in place. Her voice was then drowned out by the sound of rhythmic music. Radio Solidarity first broadcast on 12 April, for 8 minutes without jamming. Its second broadcast on 30 April lasted a few minutes but was barely audible. Its 3 May broadcast was drowned out by a music program. It has since scheduled broadcasts for 2100 local time Sunday nights. [Text] [NC092030 Paris AFP in English 2021 GMT 9 May 82]

CSO: 2020/45

ROMANIA

ALLEGED 'MISTREATMENT' OF CLERGY, BELIEVERS DENIED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Apr 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Ilie Tanasache]

[Text] We are talking with a man who, according to the American daily newspaper NEW YORK TIMES (of 17 February 1982) was "tortured and kept in chains, hands and feet" by "Romanian police." What was his guilt? According to the same source, "the torture" occurred because of his protest against -- neither more nor less! -- "the religious persecutions in this country." Moreover, for the purpose of lending more authenticity to the too thin allegations, the above-mentioned newspaper also carried the picture of the "mistreated man," and as a supplement to softhearted people, also the picture of his wife.

It is not the first, nor is it the last bag of fabrications being ground in the rotary presses of anglers in troubled waters -- who take their wishes as reality! But let us present to the readers the case of the "victim that survived in the jail." His name is Ioan Teodosiu, he is a cabinet-maker by trade and 28 years old. He was born in Baia de Aries Commune, Alba County. He worked for "Napochim" and "Libertatea" enterprises in Cluj-Napoca. He comes from a family of miners and has six brothers and sisters: Lidia, homemaker, Benjamin, electronics engineer, Iosif, mechanic, Maria, textile worker, David and Vasile, students at the Cluj-Napoca Faculty of Mechanics. The entire family -- and the wife's family -- belong to the Baptist faith. (One of the 14 denominations recognized and protected by the laws of our state). "I have worshipped in this faith," Ioan Teodosiu unquestionably states, "without my having been ever hampered or the community's having any trouble from the authorities."

Is it not clear as daylight? Nevertheless, what does the newspaper that sheds crocodile tears for Ioan Teodosiu want to say? We ask the "mistreated man:"

Tell us how did you endure.... the tortures which were trumpeted abroad?

His wife Ligia, present at the discussion which we had in Sighisoara on 10 March 1982, was quick to reply:

My husband told me that not even the voice was pitched higher at him.

[Question] You were kept for several weeks by the state organs. Why were you under investigation?

[Answer] For transmission of information that was used in the propaganda against our country.

It is an unequivocal answer. We will have the opportunity to dwell in following passages on the nature and authenticity of this information, on alleged persecutions of believers. However, here there is the need for a parenthesis. For many years Ioan Teodosiu was in a very close relationship with a man named Radu Capusan of Cluj-Napoca. The latter, also, was a member of the Baptist community, affected by persecution mania. So deeply ingrained in his mind was this fixed idea that, against evidences, even against his own precepts advocated by the faith which he embraced and which require him not to lie, he was profusely inventing cases of religious persecution which he transmitted to "Free Europe" or to "Christian Solidarity International" (an international Christian organization with headquarters in Zurich). "Institutions" which in this way achieve their rate of hostile propaganda against our country. Normally and naturally, Capusan was cautioned that his activity comes under the Penal Code and cannot be tolerated. Implacable in his sick reasoning, of course the person involved assessed the call to reality again as an act of.... religious persecution and asked to go to the United States of America. And in December 1980 he left this country.

Once Capusan was gone, the freshly "anointed" in his place in the imaginary post of defender of persecuted believers -- namely Ioan Teodosiu -- is simply bombarded with telephone calls from "Free Europe", by his friend who had chosen "freedom," messengers are sent to him, he is asked for telephone interviews (through Capusan, who also acts as the translator of the interviewee's statements!), he is assured that his activity is most highly appreciated in upper circles abroad. One more thing before ending this parenthesis: the "defenders of religious freedom and the liberty of conscience" take a good many liberties, their interest easily goes beyond religious concerns, the sign at the gate being for credulous people, novices like Ioan Teodosiu. Otherwise, how can one explain that he is also asked for information on "what are intellectuals in Romania thinking and how are they doing," "how does the people assess the events in Poland," on the temporary difficulties reported in one or another area. So that even a naive can justly ask himself: "What connection is there between this and the Baptist faith or with the faith of any other religious denomination?" It is clear that the "advocates of the liberty of conscience," used, ~~not~~ guided by conscience, even more, unscrupulously!, the screen of the so-called religious persecutions for much more lay, more practical purposes. But let us act as if we do not know what the proposition involves and let us see what were the facts used in the "mission" of revealing the persecution of believers of all kinds....

In a broadcast of 11 October 1981, based on information also supplied by Ioan Teodosiu, "Free Europe" foamed with rage about the abusive measure of Romanian authorities to relieve five Orthodox priests of their duties. The broadcasts of 8 and 22 November again comment, with impudence and venom, on the "dramatic situation" of the five priests. The reality: Viorel Dumitrescu, one of the "persecuted" persons, a former priest in the Visag parish, Lugoj archpriest district, is dismissed by the parish consistory because: 1. He divorced without the approval of his clerical hierarchs; 2. He contracted a second marriage, contrary to church decrees; 3. His second wife gives birth only 2 months and 6 days after the marriage was contracted.... Another case: Ioan Vinchici, former priest at Paniova, Timis County, was relieved of his duties by the parochial consistory because he divorced his first

wife and committed adultery. Another case: Liviu Negoita, former priest in the Măreni parish, was dismissed by the same consistory for "negligence and disobedience in terms of fulfilling church duties." No need for us to also dwell on the reasons for the "dismissal" (in the version of "Free Europe") of Ambrus Emeric Cernat, of Timis County and Cornel Avramescu, of Hunedoara County, who are members of the clergy and function unhampered in their parishes. However, there is the need for the question: Where is the persecution by the state authorities that, it is known, did not have any involvement, whatsoever, in the assessment of facts such as those mentioned above? After all, the ethical conduct of one or another religious servant is his personal matter, the matter of persons in the hierarchy of the faith involved. It is not the county, town or commune that handle the disputes that occur in this area. Surely, "Free Europe" will not take its impudence as far as to request the intervention of local power in returning to service priests dismissed for violations of ethics! For, this really would start interference in the affairs of religious denominations!....

In his telephone interview on 14 December to an American correspondent, through Radu Capusan, Ioan Teodosiu stated, neither more nor less: "Just last night I received the news from the Falticeni church -- which was amply fined -- that the state organs built a wall through its center to divide it, stating that it was too large." Is it not a scandalous and unprecedented case of religious persecution? Good food for the "knights of justice!" All appears without a crack. The information was given as a last-minute news item, reported the previous night. In that case, can one doubt it?

But let us see what the facts tell. Hence: On 11 April 1974, Victor Croitoru, of Falticeni, requested an authorization for repairing and enlarging his home. The reason: his family consists of seven people and the two rooms, the hall and kitchen are not sufficient. Only 13 days later he received the approval, with the instruction, according to the law, on exactly abiding by the plan. However, Victor Croitoru requested one thing and acted differently: instead of quarters for his large family he proceeded to build a prayerhouse, for 200 worshippers, destined for the members of the Baptist faith. Failure to comply with the building authorization, of course, involves the fine prescribed by law. Also, two court decisions were issued under which the accused Victor Croitoru was required, at his own expense, to demolish the new building, that had nothing in common with the dwelling he wanted to build for the seven persons. Moreover: In October 1980, a delegation of the Union of Christian Baptist Communities that came to the scene "assessed as legal the measures taken by authorities and as illegal the deeds of Victor Croitoru, (the delegation, the author's note) pledging to advise Croitoru to comply with the provisions of the building authorization issued."

Someone stated that "shame dwindles as sin grows." That is how individuals who claim to have been "raised in the fear of the Lord" carry sins galore and not a grain of shame, since they so impudently falsify reality, since they do their utmost to sully it in the mud which is to the liking of their commanditaires. But because no lie, no matter how well it has been concocted, dies of old age, this one, also, did not survive the test of truth.

On 11 October 1981, the same "Free Europe" built -- based on information requested from Ioan Teodosiu -- a violent commentary on the case of Valea Grosilor (a locality near Dej) where the authorities had allegedly disrupted the meeting, trying to remove the

The reality reported under signature by the very pastor of the parishioners of the above-mentioned location: "Regarding the broadcast of "Free Europe," I indicate that the statements are not true but they are slanders against the state authorities, with which I did not have any disagreement. As the pastor of this church for many years, I state that I do not know of the state organs ever having disrupted the religious activity of the Pentecostal faith in any church in this area."

And to conclude this series of undoubtable proofs of the "truths" used in the hostile activity into which, willingly or unwillingly, still various people are sometimes drawn, let us point out only one fact: based on a report supplied also by Ioan Teodosiu, in 1981 "Free Europe" raised a big fuss about occurrences in Badeuti Village, Suceava County. In that village, allegedly, the children of Baptist Ion Lucescu were persecuted, twice consecutively remaining for the second year in the same grade, though they proved to be very good students. Allegedly, the teachers had set the condition for the parents to renounce Baptism if they wanted their children to complete the grade.

The reality investigated at the Badeuti school: 1. The persecuted man (according to "Free Europe") Ion Lucescu is 80 years old; 2. His children, of school age (according to "Free Europe") are between.... 40 and 60 years of age; 3. In the last years, that school never had any case of a pupil's failure to get his remove; 4. Regarding the two abusive teachers (according to "Free Europe") the following can be stated: Gheorghe Gireada ceased teaching at the above school almost 20 years back and Eleonora Varvaroi retired 8 years ago!

In essence, these are the kind of "facts" being used by hostile propaganda against our country in regard to an alleged persecution of various believers or religious communities.

In our discussion in Sighisoara I asked Ioan Teodosiu to assess his deeds himself:

[Question] Do the religious precepts of the faith to which you belong teach you to lie?

[Answer] No, they do not teach us such a thing.

[Question] Well?

[Answer] I express my regret over the activity conducted and the manner in which those abroad used the information which I supplied....

Ioan Teodosiu, also, knows well that regret only does not always remove the blemish caused -- willingly or unwillingly. Moreover, Ioan Teodosiu, faced with the truth, has learned that for a while he was in the tow of some individuals paid to disparage the country, the realities in Romania, even more, to artificially create tension -- individuals summoned at various committees and subcommittees that do nothing else than meddling into the internal affairs of others. "I know that Radu Capusan -- Ioan Teodosiu now states under signature -- "is not hired somewhere in America. However I realized that he has money enough. (He even spoke for half an hour on phone calls with Teodosiu, with paying the bill over there, in America. It would be interesting to know with what money if he does not work anywhere? author's note). He also told me that he visited many states and towns in the U.S. and now has settled

Los Angeles, I believe that he profits from all these things as a result of the activity which I conducted in terms of the information which I supplied to him and which he used as a means of propaganda against our country." These are the perfectly legal reasons -- everyone has the right to set one's house in order, in the spirit of the laws that protect all the citizens, which must be followed by all the citizens; -- for which Ioan Teodosiu was warned, investigated. He himself testifies that for all these he was not "tortured and kept in chains, hands and feet" by the "Romanian police." Moreover, he realizes that he has benefitted from the clemency of our state, whose laws are pervaded by humanism, they try to turn the individual away from the crooked path, urging him to have a dignified, honest comportment, of work and life. Moreover, Ioan Teodosiu expressed his "satisfaction with the Romanian authorities that proved considerable clemency although I violated the country's laws." A participant, willingly or unwillingly, in the campaign to discredit our country, where allegedly "unqualifiable persecutions of believers" are occurring, Ioan Teodosiu has the opportunity, in the middle of his family where he is, to look back at the harm committed, to turn his back on the slanders for which he, too, was a spokesman, to completely sever his relations with the gross profiteers who wanted to create the illusion for him that he represented "a new Messiah for the defense of the liberty of conscience against any interference." Interferences, which, it was fully proved, were only revolting fabrications.

11710  
CSO: 2700

BILANDZIC QUESTIONS INCREASED NUMBER OF 'YUCOSLAVS'

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 82 SEDAM DANA Supplement pp 6-7

[Interview with Dr Dusan Bilandzic, member of the LC Croatia Central Committee and full professor at the School of Political Sciences of Zagreb University, by Salih Zvizdic: "High Tide of People Declaring Themselves To Be Yugoslavs"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Only now that the Kosovo Provincial Bureau of Statistics has a few days ago published the results of the census in that province is it possible to furnish the most precise analysis of the census data concerning demographic developments in Yugoslavia. Among the most interesting changes shown by last year's national population census, the fifth since the war, certainly includes the sizable growth of the number of citizens declaring themselves on the census sheet to be Yugoslavs.

In the third postwar census in 1961, when that possibility was introduced for the first time on the census sheets, 317,124 persons declared themselves to be Yugoslavs. Ten years later, in 1971, there were 273,077 of them on census sheets. Last year, as of 31 March, there were all of 1,216,463 Yugoslavs, or 4.5-fold more than in the previous census.

We asked Vladimir Novak, counselor in the Croatian Republic Bureau for Statistics, to explain briefly how censustakers last year entered the self-declared Yugoslavs on the census sheet?

"Every citizen can take advantage of his constitutional right to declare that he belongs to a particular nationality or ethnic minority, but also the right not to make such a declaration, and in this latter case the censustaker records this answer in the box marked "Did not declare nationality." If a citizen wanted to be entered as a "Yugoslav," the censustaker was required to enter this in the box marked "Did not declare nationality," which means that the individual thereby did not declare which nationality or ethnic minorit he belonged to. All inhabitants who did not make that declaration were classified in three subgroups on the basis of these answers: The first consisted of those who did not commit themselves at all in this respect, the second those who declared themselves to be Yugoslavs, and the third who made a declaration on a regional basis (Slavonia, Sumadija, Bosanska Krajina, etc.).

We are publishing an author-edited interview with Dr Dusan Bilandzic, member of the LC Croatia Central Committee and full professor in the School of Political Sciences at Zagreb University, on this demographic phenomenon which is of equal interest to the general public and also to scholars.

[Question] How do you interpret the statistical data on the increase in the number of people declaring themselves to be Yugoslavs in the last population census? And this demographic phenomenon in general?

#### The Powerlessness of Pure Statistics

[Answer] Pure statistics cannot reveal as they are now presented all the elements of the phenomenon whereby people declare themselves to be Yugoslavs in the ethnic sense. One can frame more or less accurate hypotheses in this respect, but reliable conclusions cannot be drawn. Although we are a markedly multinational community, we unfortunately do not have a single scientific institute that would follow the development of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia. If analyses with any precision are to be furnished concerning the phenomenon of Yugoslavism, we would have to have a number of additional pieces of information about the people who made that kind of declaration: their previous nationality, political allegiance (member of the League of Communists or not), age group, education, occupation, place of employment and residence, the nationality their ancestors belonged to (parents, for example), and some other things as well.

[Question] But that kind of data can be gathered right from the census sheets.

[Answer] It could, but we do not have it. That is a job which would take quite a bit of work. To illustrate I will give certain census results on Croats in Vojvodina. In 1971 there were about 140,000 of them there, and last year about 110,000. Where did those 30,000 or so people go, that fourth of the population of Croats who were there 10 years ago? Only a complicated analysis could give a reliable answer to that. Certainly I have taken Vojvodina only as an example, but there are quite a few cases of similar uncertainties.

[Question] Recently in an unstructured conversation you mentioned an interesting example in this respect which had been related to you by a colleague at the university.

[Answer] Yes. That is, my colleague Ivan Siber, professor of social psychology, by pure accident recently had three students in an examination who declared themselves to be Yugoslavs in the census. As a man who is professionally concerned with these matters, he asked them to explain to him what led them to do that. The first was a Moslem and said that as a baby in the war he had lost his parents, who had been killed by members of the counterrevolution. He added that this revolution, this country, had taken him up in place of his father and mother, and he had therefore chosen to be a Yugoslav. The second was an authentic Croat from the suburbs of Zagreb who said of himself that he had a Serbian wife and children who had declared themselves to be Yugoslavs, and so as to not break ties with his children, he had opted to be a Yugoslav.

The third was a Serb from Croatia who said of himself that he had given up religion, that he lived in Croatia, that his culture was Croatian, so that it seemed to him most natural to be a Yugoslav.

[Question] Certainly there would be no point in drawing a generalization from that.

[Answer] Absolutely not, there is no question of a generalization! Were one to generalize on the basis of this example, hundreds of thousands of Serbs in Croatia would have good reason to be angry, as would the Croats and Moslems. I mention this only as an illustration of how various emotional elements can affect such choices, elements such as mixed marriages, children, religion; a whole series of emotional ingredients, but also other motives all the way to careerism. Pressure cannot and dare not be put on people in this respect. Fascism and Nazism used atrocities in carrying out their theory of the pure race, and on our own soil the Ustashi and Chetniks also wanted to achieve ethnic purity not only by the rough methods of assimilation, but also by genocide.

### The Illusion of a Yugoslav Nationality

[Question] The size of the most numerous nationalities, Serbs and Croats, has dropped from the 1971 Census, and there has been a sizable increase in the number of Yugoslavs. It is interesting that in absolute numbers the largest number of Yugoslavs is in Croatia, where they comprise 8.24 percent of the total population. In Bosnia-Herzegovina they make up 7.91 percent of the total population, and in Vojvodina 8.13 percent. At the same time they comprise 1.39 percent of the population in Slovenia, 0.74 percent in Macedonia, and only 0.2 percent in Kosovo. As though the republics and provinces with a mixed population are "producing" the largest number of Yugoslavs.

[Answer] There is something here which might be called the phenomenon of the "minority nationality." The Croats, say, are a minority nationality in Serbia, including the provinces, and that is true of the Serbs in Croatia. It is a question, then, of a nationality which is in numerical terms a minority in some numerically stronger ethnic community. Such a minority group, regardless of whether it is a nationality or ethnic minority, often seeks its own identification by suppressing what makes it different from the majority nationality and wishes to identify itself with the broader and more global community, cohesive traits are sought, and in this search refuge is taken in the identity of the broader and more global social community. And the broader, more global social community is Yugoslavia, but put the phrase "more global" in quotes.

[Question] Why in quotes?

[Answer] Because the nationality is the global social community . . . with all the rights of an entire society belong. In an ethnic sense Yugoslavia is not a more global social community than the republic, since the nationality constitutes the global community, and Yugoslavia is their joint state. They seek identification with that kind of community in the belief that it guarantees them a more stable future.

[Question] This suggests the conclusion that they are attempting to take refuge in some future Yugoslav nationality.

[Answer] In the case of those who have decided to be Yugoslavs in the hope that in the near or distant future a Yugoslav nationality would come into being, then it should be said that our entire history offers evidence that this is a mere illusion. There is absolutely no possibility whatsoever of creating a Yugoslav nationality.

[Question] Opinions have been expressed among us, mainly launched by the unitarists, that the nationalities of Yugoslavia are in some way seminationalities.

[Answer] Yes, that is well known, just as one is well aware why such opinions have been launched. In connection with enactment of the amendments to reform the Federation, Kardelj came out sharply against the unitarists and people like them who have been launching the opinion that our nationalities are incomplete, that they are seminationalities, peasant nationalities, and accordingly there is not sufficient basis for forming the position of the republics as states and self-governing communities, which was initiated by the LCY in the amendments. Kardelj said at that time, I am not quoting him, but giving the gist of what he said, that the historical process of shaping the nationalities in Yugoslavia had been completed, that these are today modern nationalities, that there is no difference whatsoever between our nationalities and certain others. This leads to the altogether logical conclusion that the very process of formation of the nationalities is definitively completed. It is nonsense to imagine some new nationality, the Yugoslav nationality.

#### Against the Nationality and Republics

[Question] There were also individuals among the leaders who wanted to eliminate the nationalities along with the republics.

[Answer] There actually was a notion in certain heads that in the very first phase of socialist Yugoslavia's political and economic structuring that the capitalist historical creations, for example, commodity production and the nationalities, should be eliminated as part of doing away with the bourgeois legacy. That role was to be assumed and performed by the centralized state.

[Question] Can you identify that period more closely?

[Answer] We even had a postwar party congress, the seventh in 1958, at which several delegates proposed formation of a Yugoslav nationality and doing away with the republics. This was an expression of the notion that the state is the principal force in the development of socialism and that the state should among other things also guarantee the withering away of nationalities, and in that process Yugoslavianism would be a bridge in achieving this within the context of that kind of centralized state.

[Question] What sort of response was there to these speeches in the congress?

[Answer] Except for one Slovenian delegate who opposed this view of the nationalities and the republics, there was no response whatsoever to those speeches in the rest of the congress. It was simply that no one took it seriously.

Declared Yugoslavs in the Republics and Provinces (rounded off to the nearest thousand)

<u>Region</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>Share in Total Population in 1981, %</u>	<u>Factor of Increase Over 1971 Census</u>
Bosnia-Hercegovina	44	326	7.91	7.4
Montenegro	11	31	5.35	2.8
Croatia	84	379	8.24	4.5
Macedonia	4	14	0.74	3.5
Slovenia	7	26	1.39	3.7
Serbia proper	76	271	4.77	3.6
Kosovo	1	3	0.20	3.0
Vojvodina	47	167	8.13	3.5
Yugoslavia	247	1,217	5.42	4.3

[Question] At the Eighth LCY Congress in Belgrade there was a quite vocal debate of this issue.

[Answer] Yes, at that time, in 1964, Tito, Kardelj and Vlahovic had very sharply criticized the attempt to negate the nationalities and in general the distorted conception of the role of the state. At that time Tito was to say (I quote): "... There are those who feel that in our socialist social development the nationalities have already lived beyond their time and should die off, which smacks a bit of assimilation and bureaucratic centralization, of unitarianism and dogmatism ... and insofar as there are such people in the League of Communists, there is no place for them in our League, since they are harmful...." Arguing against the unitarian position, Veljko Vlahovic stressed at the same congress: "... The conception that ethnic differences will vanish in Yugoslavia after the triumph of the revolution is not only scientifically untenable, but is a disguise for bureaucratic, unitarist and hegemonic tendencies...."

[Question] In speaking about the motives which lead people to declare themselves to be Yugoslavs, you mentioned among the causes of this phenomenon that there is also certain criticism of the policy and influence of the LCY. What sort of criticism do you mean?

[Answer] There are, you see, ambivalent reactions here. It is well known that over the last 15 years or so the national factor has been strongly affirmed in our society and the republics and provinces have won full affirmation, which is certainly the result of the policy of the LCY. However, some people sincerely believe that the strong affirmation of the republics and provinces is leading toward a shattering of community consensus, and the salvation they propose is to erase the nationality and to enter in some community model of theirs. Some people think that by declaring themselves in favor of

the Yugoslav nationality they are achieving a hidden identification with party policy, that in this way they are expressing their progressivism, as though the party for certain tactical reasons will not say so, but that is actually what it desires. Some people can also see this as their way of criticizing the LCY policy of affirming the nationalities, the republics and the provinces. They are thus undermining the real community consensus, though in their minds this appears to be a strengthening of community consensus.

[Question] What do you think, how many declared Yugoslavs are there who think that way?

[Answer] I think that this is a sizable group, one which deep down is inclined to unitarianism, since it conceived socialism to be a global society with a highly centralized system. It would be extremely important to obtain figures from research into this phenomenon on how many of these declared Yugoslavs there are in the government from the opstina to the Federation, how many political figures there are among them, how many educated people. This is extremely important, since it is certain that some people who are pushing their Yugoslavianism are also pursuing some personal advantage of their own. Moreover, there is also here the desire to return to some old identity.

[Question] What sort of identity?

[Answer] Well, I am referring, say, to the idea of Yugoslavianism dating back to the Illyrian movement. Or, on the other hand, let us look at certain Dalmatians, in whom there is a note of unitarianism because in fleeing from Italianization they sought a point of support in the interior, and that interior was Croatia, Yugoslavia. Certainly there are quite a few examples, though I stress that these are all suppositions.

#### The Principle of Choice as a Human Right

[Question] Do you happen to know what in general led to the idea of introducing the possibility of declaring oneself to be a Yugoslav in the population census?

[Answer] I do not know what led people to decide that, but it was most probably a question of the democratic principle that it was a man's human right to say what he pleases about his commitment. In any case, this kind of declaration with respect to nationality cannot withstand scientific criticism. It would be interesting, say, to learn how many such Yugoslavs really think that they are creating a nationality or have already done so. It is hard for me to believe that there are those who think that they are thereby taking a step toward creation of a new Yugoslav nationality, although many of them do think that they are thereby doing a service to our community consensus.

[Question] At the conference of the League of Communists of Belgrade in April 1967 Tito said in speaking about the nationality: "... If our young people want to declare themselves merely to be Yugoslavs, I support them in the idea that this is not a question of some new ethnic feeling, but of a feeling of belonging to our socialist community. On several occasions I have said that

everyone can be what he feels himself to be and that no one has the right to impose any national allegiance on him if he feels himself to be only a citizen of Yugoslavia."

[Answer] You know, Tito was the leader of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia who have committed themselves to living in one state in which the sovereignty belongs to the republics and, as Bakaric says, "the Federation is what the republics agree on." Tito was an exceptional figure whose overall positions in society were such that it was normal for him to speak that way. Accordingly, notwithstanding that Comrade Tito said that to young people, we should be aware that in his entire being and struggle he proved that he was the most consistent in resolving the nationality question in Yugoslavia. I can quote to you what Tito wrote in 1942 in PROLETER, it seems to me it was in Bihac. In that article Tito wrote among other things: "... The phrase 'national liberation struggle' would be just words and even a deception if aside from the general Yugoslav meaning it did not also have its ethnic meaning for each nationality separately, i.e., if aside from the struggle to liberate Yugoslavia, it did not at the same time signify the struggle to liberate the Croats, the Serbs, the Slovenes, the Macedonians, the Skiptars, the Moslems, and so on."

#### Centralists and Federalists

[Question] Can we assume that the pronounced advocates of bureaucratic centralism in our country may also be pronounced propagators of the Yugoslav nationality?

[Answer] Throughout Yugoslavia's entire postwar period, sometimes more, sometimes less, there has always existed and does now exist a conflict between what I might call the centralists and the federalists. Back in 1957 Kardelj said in his preface to a second edition of his book on development of the Slovenian nationality question: "... On the basis of bureaucratic-centralistic tendencies there also emerge here and there attempts to affirm the old chauvinistic integral Yugoslavianism as well as tendencies to negate the nationalities that exist in order to affirm some new Yugoslav nationality...." Kardelj later called upon the socialist forces to resist the tendencies of hegemony based on the big state and its ideological manifestations with the same determination with which the manifestations of bourgeois nationalism also have to be fought.

[Question] Does that mean that the high tide of declared Yugoslavs may be interpreted as a way as a hindrance to our society's development and in particular to the further affirmation of the nationalities and degovernmentalization?

[Answer] None of these people wants to accept the charge of tearing down society, but every one would be angered by such a charge. I am persuaded that many people do honestly feel this commitment of theirs. On the other hand, there are many people who hold that every affirmation of Yugoslavianism in an ethnic sense is harmful, since this is a way of creating a supernationality by ignoring the nationalities as a good umbrella for those who preach centralism and hegemony. This is the same line of thought on which the opinion arose

that the republics were superfluous to the socialist system, since the state needed only the organization of the Federation, the opstinas and associated labor.

[Question] Do such opinions exist even now?

[Answer] They do, I am aware of them, but it would not be proper to name names here.

[Question] Between 1960 and 1967 you worked as secretary of the Central Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions.

[Answer] Yes. Precisely there in the organization of the trade union center they honored only three levels of social organization, and that the Federation as the point at which the system of social relations is built, the commune as the point at which the common interests are reconciled and realized, and work organizations in which workers' self-management is explored, guided and achieved. In our reflections there was no place for exploring the role of the republics even in the organizational structure of the staff and bodies of the trade unions.

[Question] Finally, how do you interpret the phenomenon of the growth in the number of declared Yugoslavs?

[Answer] I think that the phenomenon of Yugoslavianism in the ethnic sense, especially this sudden growth, indicates that something is not right in society, since otherwise it is not a normal social phenomenon, it cannot be placed in any pure Marxist category. Nor can it in general be dealt with in theoretical terms. Among other things, it is extremely complicated, since it contains an echo of our entire historical development. We know what sort of apocalypses we experienced in fratricidal warfare, we know our bad experiences of the past, prewar and postwar. Among the declared Yugoslavs there are also those who are obsessed by fears, since some are afraid of serious new conflicts, others fear for the future of our community consensus, and still others resolve their own emotional or certain other problems in that way. We should nevertheless say that in essence it is a question of distorting the concept of the nationality as a factor in building our real community consensus.

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